FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 44-21493

116 pgs

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: FEB 27 1963

BM:SHR:sab 12,634

FROM : Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

144-53-154

SUBJECT: Unknown Subjects;
Unknown Victims;
Muslim Minister Malcom X,
Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 - Complainant
Civil Rights

Attached are two copies of a telegram dated February 16, 1963, from Malcom X of 102 W. 116th Street, New York, New York.

Please conduct a preliminary investigation with respect to the two persons arrested and charged with 3rd degree assault and also the incident with respect to the arrest of the 13 Negroes.

2

memo Rosen & Belmont
2/28/63
JWH:lmm

53

36 FEB 27 1963

MCT

2149-1

REC- 42

FEB 27 1963

EX-115

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

2 ENCLOSURE

1 ENCLOSURE

WUT075 WUB15C NPC014 NL PI

NEW YORK N B 16

THE HONORABLE ROBERT F KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE

UNITED STATES, U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE, WASH DC

SIR:

A MUSLIM MINISTER AND 12 OTHER INNOCENT NEGROES WERE ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 8, 1963 IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK AND CHARGED WITH "THIRD DEGREE ASSAULT," AND "INCITING TO RIOT."

THESE FALSE CHARGES STEM FROM A JAN 6TH INCIDENT IN WHICH SEVERAL WHITE COPS WITH THE USE OF A VICIOUS POLICE DOG FORCED THEIR WAY INTO THE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE LOCAL MUSLIMS, AND BROKE UP THEIR PRAYERS UNDER THE PRETEXT THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL THAT SOMEONE ATTENDING THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES WAS CARRYING A GUN.

NO SEARCH WAS EVER MADE FOR ANY GUN, BUT TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE ARRESTED AT THAT TIME AND CHARGES WITH 3RD DEGREE ASSAULT AND RESISTING ARREST AFTER THEY THEMSELVES HAD BEEN ASSAULTED BY THE OFFICERS FOR EXPRESSING RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION AT THE GESTAPO-LIKE INVASION OF THEIR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

THE MOST RECENT ARREST LAST WEEK OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL NEGROS, INCLUDING THE MUSLIM MINISTER, HAS FURTHER SHOCKED THE ROCHESTER NEGRO COMMUNITY. AN EXPLOSIVE CURRENT IS BUILDING UP IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AGAINST THESE POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS.

IT IS RUMORED STRONGLY THAT BECAUSE THE COUNTY IS CONTROLLED BY REPUBLICANS AND THE CITY BY THE DEMOCRATS (INCLUDING THE POLICE DEPT), THAT WHEN THE CITY ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZED A MISTAKE HAD BEEN MADE IN THE INVASION OF OUR RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND WAS TAKING INTELLIGENT STEPS TO CORRECT IT, THAT A REPUBLICAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND A REPUBLICAN COUNTY GRAND JURY MANEUVERED THE SECRET INDICTMENT OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL MUSLIMS ONLY TO EMBARRASS A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CITY ADMINISTRATION.

IF THESE RUMORS ARE CORRECT, THE CHARGES ARE VERY SERIOUS. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS TIRED OF BEING USED AS A POLITICAL FOOT-BALL. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS IN AN EXPLOSIVE MOOD, TIRED OF LIVING UNDER THE SAME POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED IN NAZI-GERMANY. THERE POLICE DOGS WERE ALSO USED FIRST TO SUPPRESS THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND ULTIMATELY THE LIVES OF THE JEWS.

WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL BY THE F.B.I. AND ALL OTHER INTERESTED AGENCIES INTO THE CRIMINAL USE OF POLITICAL POWER AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ROCHESTER, N.Y. TO SUPPRESS THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIMS IN PARTICULAR.

UNDER GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER AND SENATOR KEATING, THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS BECOME WORSE THAN MISSISSIPPI, AND THE CITY OF ROCHESTER HAS BECOME WORSE THAN OXFORD AND JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI COMBINED.

MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO 7

102 W. 116TH STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

2/28/63

EX-115

Airtel 44-21493-1

1 cc REC 42

To: SAC, Buffalo

From: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/13/86 BY SP-6 bja/tc

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

Enclosed herewith are two copies of Departmental memorandum dated 2/27/63, requesting a preliminary investigation. Also enclosed is a copy of the enclosure, a telegram to the Attorney General from Malcom X which is self-explanatory.

Conduct the preliminary investigation requested by the Department. Advise appropriate officials at outset and persons interviewed that the investigation is being conducted at the request of Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Your investigation should include interviews of victims, subjects, available witnesses and a thorough check of pertinent arrest and medical records.

It is noted that this incident has received considerable publicity in the newspapers. Any inquiries received by your office from the press concerning our investigation should be answered to the effect that our investigation is being conducted at the request of Mr. Burke Marshall, Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. No further comment should be made.

Surep within seven days of receipt of this airtel setting forth results of your inquiry and indicating in the report that it is a preliminary investigation. Include in your report the opinion of the USA as to the merits of the case.

MAILED 30
FEB 28 1963
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Enclosures (2)

JWH:jhm
(4)

NOTE: SEE MEMO ROSEN TO BELMONT, SAME DATE AND CAPTION JWH:jhm.

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

44-24493-2 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING SERIALIZATION.

Serial
93
8-21-67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/28/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

0-20 (Rev. 10-15-62)

Tolson
Belmont
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Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/13/86 BY Sp6 jja/tcy

144-2117-A
NOT RECORDED
184 MAR 5 1963

UPI-230
(MUSLIMS)
ROCHESTER, N.Y.--MONROE COUNTY JUDGE JOHN P. LOMENZO TODAY ORDERED A MARCH 18 TRIAL DATE FOR 15 BLACK MUSLIMS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN A BRAWL WITH ROCHESTER POLICE LAST MONTH.
2/28--EG828PES

CONSURA
LINKS U.S. FINDS
MUSLIM MINISTER
MALCOLM X
MUHAMMAD MOSQUE NO 7 - COMPLAINANT
C.R.

55 MAR 11 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

N/A 3/3/63

FBI

Date: 3/1/63

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

CHANGED
UNSUBS; UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X,
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/13/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

Rebuairtel 2/28/63, captioned as above. Re also Buffalo tel 2/25/63 and Buffalo airtel 2/27/63, both captioned "UNSUBS; OFFICERS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y., POLICE DEPARTMENT; MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CIVIL RIGHTS."

Title "Changed" to delet that shown in Buffalo communications, substituting in place thereof Bureau title.

Enclosed for the Bureau's information are two copies of an article which appeared in the February 28, 1963 edition of the "Times Union," a daily newspaper, Rochester, N. Y., reflecting trial of the 15 Muslims arrested by the Rochester PD would begin 3/18/63 in County Court, Rochester.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly furnished.

2 ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (AM)
4 - Buffalo
(1 - 44-182)
(1 - 105-468)
(1 - 105-2767)

KLB:gpp
(7)

1 cc of Article to Newspaper CR Unit.

REC-23 44-21493-3

6 MAR 5 1963

C. C. Wick

Approved: MAR 1 1963 Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Trial Set For 15 on Riot Charge

Trial of 15 men on charges of riot and third-degree assault was set today for March 18 in County Court.

They were arrested after a clash with police at a Black Muslim meeting Jan. 6.

The trial was scheduled by Judge John P. Lomenzo after assignment of additional counsel for the defense.

While the defendants were in court for the proceedings, three men carrying signs walked up and down in front of the Court House. The signs proclaimed: "Black Man Political Tool No More," "Rochester Police State" and "We Worship Allah."

An attempt by the "pickets" to enter the courtroom before the riot case was called was blocked by court attendants. They then went to the Main Street sidewalk in front of the building.

• • •

IN COURT, the 15 defendants lined up stiffly in front of Judge Lomenzo.

"I notice you are all standing at attention," he said. "At ease. You're not in the Army. You're in a court of law."

Standing with the defendants were court-assigned attorneys Reuben K. Davis, Robert L. Brenna and Charles B. Kenning. Davis asked that additional counsel be assigned. Upon the individual request of each defendant, Judge Lomenzo assigned two more counsel—Alan J. Underberg and Merwyn M. Knoll.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/13/86 BY SP4 Hoy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 28

Times-Union
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 2/28/63
Edition: Home
Author:
Editor: Paul Miller
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Buffalo

44-2493-3
ENCLOSURE

3/1/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Buffalo

From: Director, FBI

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/13/86 BY [illegible]

Re Bureau airtel 2/28/63 and your airtel captioned, "Unsubs; Officers of Rochester, New York, Police Department, Members of NOI - Victims, Civil Rights," dated 2/27/63.

By return mail furnish letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination containing data made available to your office [redacted] the separate incidents reported in this matter as well as the arrest and fight which took place between members of the Rochester, New York, Police Department and Negroes who were attending the NOI meeting on 1/6/63.

b7D

MAILED 27
MAR - 1 1963
COMM-FBI

EX-102

FCH/rrf
(4)

44-21493-3

REC- 57

19 MAR 4 1963

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

62 MAR 7 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAR 4 1963

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 3-4-63 5-00 PM GML

TO-DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM-SAC, BUFFALO /44-193/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/13/86 BY SP2 [illegible]

UNSUBS, UNKNOWN VICTIM, MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD-S MOSQUE NO. SEVEN - COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS.

REBUAIRTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

b7C [redacted] NOTIFIED TODAY THAT THIS OFFICE WAS INITIATING INVESTIGATION AT REQUEST OF BURKE MARSHALL, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION, U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE.

[redacted] INITIALLY STATED OFFICERS AND RECORDS WOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE WITHOUT CONDITION BUT THAT SINCE OFFICERS INVOLVED HAVE TESTIFIED BEFORE GRAND JURY AND PROSECUTION IS PENDING, HE DESIRED TO CONSULT DISTRICT ATTORNEY-S OFFICE. AT THIS JUNCTURE,

b7C [redacted]

ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR BUREAU INVESTIGATION TO PROCEED WITHOUT CHECKING WITH DISTRICT ATTORNEY-S OFFICE. [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

END PAGE ONE.

REC 16 44-21493-

2 53 MAR 13

3/5/63 Rec'd - FBI Airtel to BU
Dalbey
S. Kein, CRD
3/5/63
FCF: [illegible]

6-8

BU44-193

PAGE TWO.

PRESENT DURING ALL INTERVIEWS OF POLICE OFFICERS. [redacted]

b7C DESIGNATED [redacted]

PAREN, FOR THIS PURPOSE.

IN VIEW OF [redacted] CONDITION, NO INTERVIEWS OF POLICE OFFICERS BEING CONDUCTED BY THIS OFFICE, UACB. ALL REMAINING INVESTIGATION INSTRUCTED IN REAIRTEL PROCEEDING INCLUDING REVIEW OF POLICE RECORDS.

END AND ACK PLS.

5-03 PM OK FBI WA MED

TU PLS CLEAR

NOV 1 2 00 LH .23

FBI

2/5/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Buffalo (44-122)

From: Director, FBI

REC-16 44-21493-4

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS; EX-117
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/13/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

Reurtel 2/4/63.

For your information, this matter has been discussed with the Department who requested that no interviews of subjects be conducted in the presence of their superior.

You should proceed with your preliminary investigation in accordance with previous Bureau instructions. Do not interview the subjects in presence of their superior; however, insure that your report contains data set forth in referenced teletype.

FCF:jhm

(4)

NOTE: On 2/28/63, Buffalo instructed to conduct PI in accordance with Department request which enclosed telegram to AG from Malcom X relating an incident which took place on 1/6/63, at Rochester, New York, resulting in the arrest of two Negroes by the Rochester PD and subsequent indictment of 13 Negroes on charges of assault and inciting riot. On 3-5-63 matter discussed with [redacted] CRD. This will be confirmed.

Tolson
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Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 4
MAR - 5 1963
COMM-FBI

55 MAR 13 1963

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont DATE: 2-28-63

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

The Civil Rights Division of the Department by memorandum dated 2/27/63 enclosed copies of a telegram to the Attorney General dated 2/16/63, from Malcom X, Muslim Minister, Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, New York, relating an incident which took place on 1/6/63, at Rochester, New York, which resulted in the arrest of two Negroes by the Rochester Police Department and subsequent indictment of 13 Negroes on charges of assault and inciting a riot. Malcom X alleged that the charges against the Negroes were false and resulted from efforts of the police officers to force their way into a religious meeting and to break up the service. He requested an investigation by the FBI. The Department requests that we conduct a preliminary investigation.

Information previously submitted by the Buffalo Office reflects that on January 6, 1963, two police officers of the Rochester Police Department responded to a trouble call at the Nation of Islam (NOI) Meeting Hall, Rochester, New York. A meeting was in progress and efforts were made to prevent the officers from entering the hall. Two men in attendance at the meeting were arrested at that time and charged with assaulting the two policemen. Later the Monroe County Grand Jury returned indictments charging 13 other Negroes who had attended the meeting with assault and inciting a riot. This information was disseminated to the Department.

[redacted]

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/13/96 BY SP2 [illegible]

44-21493-5

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach

JWH:jhm:cac

6 MAR 5 1963

5 (8) MAR 11 1963

1963

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

By way of background, the NOI is a militant antiwhite group which advocates black supremacy and civil disobedience to the laws of the United States. It is currently the subject of active investigation by the Domestic Intelligence Division.

ACTION:

The Buffalo Office is being instructed to conduct the preliminary investigation requested by the Department.

In view of press interest in this matter, Buffalo is being instructed to reply to any press inquiries received that we are conducting an investigation at the request of Mr. Burke Marshall, Civil Rights Division of the Department and to make no further comment. This has been cleared with the Crime Records Division

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: March 1, 1963

FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS
OFFICERS, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK,
POLICE DEPARTMENT
UNKNOWN VICTIMS
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

ASAC Brouse of the Buffalo Office telephonically advised he had just received Buairtel of 2/28/63 requesting preliminary investigation in this matter.

Brouse desired to know if the Bureau and Department were aware of the fact that Buffalo airtel of 2/27/63 captioned "UNSUBS; Officers of Rochester, N. Y., Police Department; MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CR," had set forth information that [redacted] stated that he did not deem it appropriate to make a complaint about those arrested at this time.

Brouse was advised that the Bureau was aware of that information. It is noted [redacted] made such a statement to the Buffalo Office on 2/19/63. He was advised that the complaint in instant case had come from Malcolm X and based on that, the Department had requested an investigation.

Brouse was instructed to proceed with the investigation. In the event the victims do not desire to furnish any information to the Bureau or on the advice of their attorney decline to furnish information to the Bureau at this time, this can be brought to the Bureau's attention by teletype and the matter will again be discussed with the Department. It was pointed out that the Department had received a complaint from a citizen and had requested an investigation be conducted and we would have to interview the victims to see if they desired to furnish any information at this time.

CLM:ers
(5)

REC- 13
MCT - 18
44-21493-6

55 MAR 11 1963

6 MAR 5 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-13-96 BY SP6 bmg/kcg

FD-36 (Rev. 12-12-56)

FBI

Date: 3/4/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL - AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193) (P)

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X.
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/13/86 BY [illegible]

ReBuairtel 3/1/63.

Enclosed herewith are the original and four copies of a Letterhead Memorandum relating to [redacted] previously set forth in Buffalo airtel to the Director of 2/27/63, entitled: "UNSUBS; Officers of Rochester, N.Y. Police Department; MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CR."

As the Bureau is aware, separate closing reports have been submitted in the eight cases [redacted] Investigation is underway in the ninth case, captioned matter, in accordance with Bureau instructions.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (AM)
2 - Buffalo (44-193)
[redacted] krd
(5)

ENCLOSURE

44-21493-7

6 MAR 6 1963

EX-115

[redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

44-21493-Sep. 1, 2

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAR 6 1963
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 3-6-63 11-00 AM GML

TO-DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM-SAC, BUFFALO /44-193/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/3/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

UNSUBS, UNKNOWN VICTIMS, MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X; MUHAMMAD-S MOSQUE NO. SEVEN - COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS.

REMYTEL MARCH FOUR LAST.

b7D [redacted] MOSQUE TWENTYTHREE, BUFFALO, WHICH COVERS ROCHESTER, NY, CONTACTED MARCH FOUR AND FIVE LAST. ON MARCH FIVE ADVISED THAT HE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS CONGREGATION INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER WERE INSTRUCTED BY [redacted] ATTORNEY, b7C ROCHESTER, NY, ON MARCH FIVE NOT TO PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE INTERVIEWED BY THE FBI UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. STATES [redacted] TO CONSULT OTHER FOUR ATTORNEYS INVOLVED IN DEFENSE OF ALL VICTIMS.

b7D [redacted] ON MARCH FIVE LAST STATED HE HAD NO COMPLAINT TO REGISTER AT THIS TIME AND DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED RE INCIDENT JANUARY SIX LAST. STATED COMPLAINT POSSIBLY WOULD FOLLOW AT LATER DATE, DATE NOT SPECIFIED. STATED IF COMPLAINT MADE IT WOULD COME FROM [redacted]

REC-20 RJL - 21493-8

b7C [redacted] MINISTER, MOSQUE TWENTYTHREE, BUFFALO, AND THAT [redacted]

6 MAR 7 1963

3/6/63 [redacted] CPD

END PAGE ONE 345

58 MAR 12 1963

b7C [redacted]

BU 44-193

PAGE TWO.

WOULD RECEIVE HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM MALCOLM X LITTLE OF NYC,
WHO IN TURN WOULD RECEIVE HIS DIRECTIONS FROM ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
IN CHICAGO WHO HAS LAST WORD.

ALL OTHER VICTIMS CONTACTED TO DATE REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED
AND MOST REFER ANY QUESTIONS TO [redacted] BUFFALO
CONTACTING ALL VICTIMS AND AVAILABLE WITNESSES INDIVIDUALLY
AND REPORT WITH ALL DETAILS BEING SUBMITTED.

END AND ACK PLS.

1104 EP OK FBI WA ELR

3 (Rev. 5-1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
BUFFALO	BUFFALO	3/7/63	3/1 - 7/63

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
CHANGED [redacted] ROCHESTER, N.Y., PD; VICTIMS	[redacted]	jmv

CHARACTER OF CASE

CR [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY 1/15/86 pm

The title of this report is marked "Changed" to reflect the identity of the alleged subjects and victims as developed through investigation. This matter was previously entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT; UNKNOWN VICTIMS; Muslim Minister MALCOLM X; Muhammad's Mosque #7 - COMPLAINANT."

REFERENCE: Bureau airtels to Buffalo 2/28; 3/1 and 3/5/63.
Buffalo airtel to Bureau 3/4/63.
Buffalo teletypes to Bureau 3/4 and 3/6/63.

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:		44-21493-9 REC-9 MCT-25 EX-117

2 - Bureau (Encls 2) (RM)
1 - USA, Buffalo
2 - Buffalo (44-1)

ENCLOSURE

Classified by [redacted]
Declassify from: O.G.D. Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT	NOTATIONS
Agency: Ltr CRD 3-15-63	SLA STAT. SPEC.
Request Recd. 3-15-63	
Date Fwd. 3-25-63	
How Fwd. 1-94 FW	
By [redacted]	

cc Synopsis CR Unit

62 MAR 25 1963

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—75132-1

BU 44-193

ENCLOSURES

TO BUREAU [redacted]

Two (2) copies of newspaper articles pertaining to this matter, (one hereinafter designated for Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.)

ADMINISTRATIVE

With regard to the alleged victims and their membership in the Nation of Islam, Fruit of Islam and Muhammad's Mosque #23, Buffalo, N. Y., a letterhead memorandum has been prepared and is being submitted separately with appropriate copies for the Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.

The Indices of the Buffalo Office contain no references identifiable with [redacted]

b7C

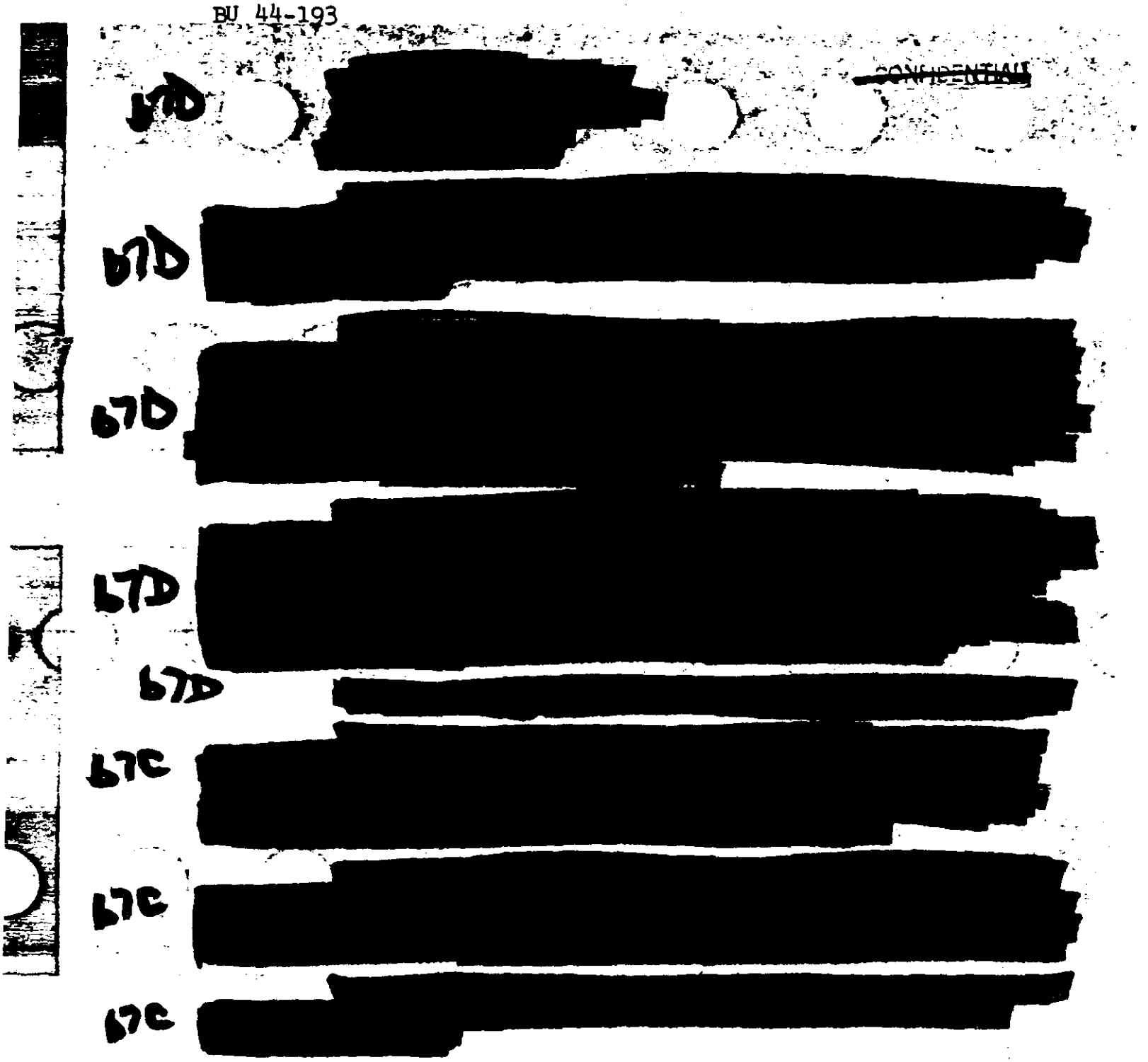
b7D

b7D

b7D

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL



In each instance the person interviewed, as reflected in the body of this report, was advised this investigation

is being conducted at the specific request of Mr. BURKE MARSHALL, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.

The reference in the body of this report to a contact with [redacted] is to the matter entitled "UNSUBS: Officers of Rochester, New York, Police Department; [redacted] COMPLAINANT, CR," Buffalo file 44-182.

b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



1 - USA, Buffalo

b7C

Office: Buffalo, New York

Date: 3/7/63

Field Office File No.: 44-193

Bureau File No.:

Title: [redacted] ROCHESTER, N.Y. POLICE DEPARTMENT; [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

VICTIMS

Character: CIVIL RIGHTS

Synopsis: b7C [redacted] Rochester, N.Y., PD was informed on 3/4/63 of initiation of this investigation. Commissioner of Public Safety [redacted] Rochester, was also informed. [redacted] advised that officers would be made available for interview but that a representative of the PD must be present. b7C [redacted] was designated for this purpose. PD records reflect an anonymous telephone call was received on the evening on 1/6/63 alleging a man had a gun at 304 North St. On this basis Officers [redacted] were dispatched. b7C b7D [redacted] Officers [redacted] were only persons injured in incident at 304 North St. on 1/6/62. Victim [redacted] Minister, Muhammad's Mosque #23, Buffalo, N.Y., stated that on advice of counsel he and other victims in this matter would not consent to interview by the FBI. Victim [redacted] b7C claimed any interview of victims would depend on permission of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, Chicago, Illinois, A witness, [redacted] in attendance at the NOI meeting 1/6/63 at Rochester denies seeing any violence. USA, WDNY, does not see action at this time merited.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-5-76 BY SP2 bmg/tcg

BU 44-193

ENCLOSURE:

One (1) copy each reproduction of pertinent newspaper articles.

TO CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
WESTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
BUFFALO

BU 44-193
1

DETAILS:

The following investigation is a preliminary investigation:

PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated on the request of Mr. BURKE MARSHALL, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice, made on February 27, 1963. Mr. MARSHALL requested a preliminary investigation with respect to the two persons arrested and charged with third degree assault, and also the incident with respect to the arrest of the 13 Negroes as described in a telegram from one MALCOLM X. Mr. MARSHALL furnished a copy of the telegram of MALCOLM X which is as follows:

"NEW YORK NY FEB 16

"THE HONORABLE ROBERT F KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE, WASH DC

"SIR:

"A MUSLIM MINISTER AND 12 OTHER INNOCENT NEGROES WERE ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 8, 1963 IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK AND CHARGED WITH 'THIRD DEGREE ASSAULT,' AND 'INCITING TO RIOT.'

"THESE FALSE CHARGES STEM FROM A JAN 6TH INCIDENT IN WHICH SEVERAL WHITE COPS WITH THE USE OF A VICIOUS POLICE DOG FORCED THEIR WAY INTO THE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE LOCAL MUSLIMS, AND BROKE UP THEIR PRAYERS UNDER THE PRETEXT THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL THAT SOMEONE ATTENDING THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES WAS CARRYING A GUN.

"NO SEARCH WAS EVER MADE FOR ANY GUN, BUT TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE ARRESTED AT THAT TIME AND CHARGES WITH 3RD DEGREE ASSAULT AND

:dbl

"RESISTING ARREST AFTER THEY THEMSELVES HAD BEEN ASSAULTED BY THE OFFICERS FOR EXPRESSING RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION AT THE GESTAPO-LIKE INVASION OF THEIR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

"THE MOST RECENT ARREST LAST WEEK OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL NEGROS, INCLUDING THE MUSLIM MINISTER, HAS FURTHER SHOCKED THE ROCHESTER NEGRO COMMUNITY. AN EXPLOSIVE CURRENT IS BUILDING UP IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AGAINST THESE POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS.

"IT IS RUMORED STRONGLY THAT BECAUSE THE COUNTY IS CONTROLLED BY REPUBLICANS AND THE CITY BY THE DEMOCRATS (INCLUDING THE POLICE DEPT), THAT WHEN THE CITY ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZED A MISTAKE HAD BEEN MADE IN THE INVASION OF OUR RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND WAS TAKING INTELLIGENT STEPS TO CORRECT IT, THAT A REPUBLICAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND A REPUBLICAN COUNTY GRAND JURY MANEUVERED THE SECRET INDICTMENT OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL MUSLIMS ONLY TO EMBARRASS A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CITY ADMINISTRATION.

"IF THESE RUMORS ARE CORRECT, THE CHARGES ARE VERY SERIOUS. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS TIRED OF BEING USED AS A POLITICAL FOOTBALL. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS IN AN EXPLOSIVE MOOD, TIRED OF LIVING UNDER THE SAME POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED IN NAZI-GERMANY, WERE POLICE DOGS WERE ALSO USED FIRST TO SUPPRESS THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND ULTIMATELY THE LIVES OF THE JEWS.

"WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL BY THE F.B.I. AND ALL OTHER INTERESTED AGENCIES INTO THE CRIMINAL USE OF POLITICAL POWER AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ROCHESTER, N.Y. TO SUPPRESS THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIMS IN PARTICULAR.

"UNDER GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER AND SENATOR KEATING, THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS BECOME WORSE THAN MISSISSIPPI, AND THE CITY OF ROCHESTER HAS BECOME WORSE THAN OXFORD AND JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI COMBINED.

"MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO 7

"102 W. 116TH STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK".

POLICE RECORDS AND INTERVIEWS
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

On March 4, 1963, [redacted] was informed by SAS [redacted] (A) and [redacted] that an investigation was being instituted concerning an alleged violation of Civil Rights of persons involved in the incident on January 6, 1963, at a meeting at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York. [redacted] stated that all records desired would be made available for review, however, that no copies would be furnished, and that the officers involved would be made available for interview. He said he would insist that the interviews be conducted during the regular shifts of the officers involved. [redacted] designated [redacted] to arrange for the interviews of officers and to make the records available for review.

b7C

b7C

During the interview with [redacted] He was also informed of the institution of the investigation. He concurred with the statements of [redacted] and added that he would insist that a representative [redacted] be present during all interviews of officers involved. [redacted] was designated for this purpose by [redacted]

b7C

:dbl

Date 3/7/63

b7D [redacted] Rochester Police Department, made available for review the file containing police records, statements of police personnel involved and police officials who investigated the incident, January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York.

b7D [redacted] described the chronological order of the procedures of the Police Department in receiving complaints, dispatching police officers by radio, and booking those arrested.

b7D [redacted] advised that normally when a complaint is received by telephone the telephone operator connects the party on the line with the complaint officer on duty. The complaint officer then prepares a complaint form which is handed to the radio operator who takes the necessary action to dispatch patrol cars as necessary.

b7D [redacted] advised that in connection with the incident on January 6, 1963, the complainant was anonymous and hung up after informing the telephone operator that there was a man with a gun upstairs over Buddy's Casino. The telephone operator relayed the message to the complaint officer. The complaint officer prepared a complaint form and handed it to the radio operator who dispatched cars to the scene.

b7C [redacted] advised that the telephone operator was [redacted] The complaint officer was [redacted] and the radio operator was [redacted] whose initials are [redacted]

The file contained a memorandum of [redacted] as follows dated January 7, 1963:

b7D [redacted]

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA([redacted] and [redacted]dbl Date dictated 3/7/63

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

"This call was received at about 8:30 PM, Sunday, January 6, 1963."

b7D [redacted] The file contained a memorandum from [redacted] as follows, dated January 7, 1963:

b7D [redacted]

The file contained the original of a complaint form. The complaint form bears [redacted] The form shows the complaint was received January 6, 1963, at 8:30 p.m. The form is filled out in handwriting.

b7D [redacted] In pencil handwriting on this form there is the following:

b7D [redacted] advised that the handwriting in pencil was made after the officers had called in after the incident to make a report. This handwriting was made by an unknown

b7D

officer at the report desk. [redacted] explained that after the complaint form is initially handled it is handed to the report desk officer to receive the reports of the officers who were sent out. The penciled notes on the complaint form made by the report desk officer is the basis for the daily report of the incident which is typed.

Included in the file were Pages [redacted] and [redacted] of the radio log. At the top of Page [redacted] the name of the operator is shown as [redacted] At the top of Page [redacted] the name of the operator is shown as [redacted] advised that because the incident occurred at 8:30 pm., [redacted] was the operator on duty at the time of the incident even though the name of [redacted] is shown at the top of Page [redacted] At the bottom of Page [redacted] opposite the time 8:31 p.m. it is shown that the dispatcher contacted Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] to handle a call at Buddy's Casino upstairs. The notation made is "man w gun." The last entry opposite the time 8:38 p.m. shows that the dispatcher contacted Car [redacted] and Cars [redacted] and [redacted] in connection with this matter. The log shows that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] went out of service at 8:25 p.m. The log shows that Cars [redacted] went out of service at 9:09 p.m.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] were in Car [redacted] was in Car [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] were in Car [redacted] was in car [redacted] and [redacted] was in Car [redacted]

On Page [redacted] of the radio log opposite the time 8:45 p.m. it is shown that Car [redacted] requested by radio Car [redacted] to meet at Buddy's Tavern.

[redacted] advised that apparently Car [redacted] did not comply with this request. The log opposite the time 9:05 p.m. shows that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] were requested to go to University Avenue, however, [redacted] advised apparently this request was not complied with.

b7D

On Page [redacted] there are entries that show that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] were out of service at headquarters from 9:25 to 11:55 p.m. There is an entry in the same page showing that Car [redacted] was out of service from 9:28 to 11:55 p.m. with the note [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] advised that the log showed with respect to Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] that the officers were at headquarters from 9:25 p.m. to 11:55 p.m. in connection with the persons arrested at 304 North Street.

[redacted] advised that when persons arrested are brought to headquarters the booking procedure is carried out in three steps. The first step consists of making out a pedigree sheet for each prisoner. The next step is the preparation of a blotter form for each prisoner. The third step is the photographing and fingerprinting of prisoners and the preparation of identification record sheets for each prisoner brought in.

b7C

The file contained documents relating to the booking procedure for [redacted] and [redacted]

RE: [redacted]

Pedigree sheet for [redacted] is dated January 6, 1963. It shows the following information:

b7C

His residence is [redacted] he was charged with Section 1851 FL assault third; arresting officers were [redacted] he had no prior arrest; he was not arrested with a warrant; the place of arrest was 304 North Street; the time was 8:40 p.m.

Descriptive information included:

b7D,C

Age
Date of birth
Color
Sex
Place of birth
Marital status
Father

[redacted]

b7D,C

Mother
Employment
Occupation
Nearest relative
Address of
Mother
Amount of bail
Pedigree taken by [redacted]

On the reverse side of the pedigree sheet there is the following in handwriting: [redacted]

b7D,C [redacted]

b7D,C The file contained two blotter forms for [redacted] Both blotter forms were dated January 6, 1963. They are identical with the exception of the charge shown. One blotter form contains the charge "resisting public officer in discharge of his duty. Any person who in any case or under any circumstances not otherwise specially provided for willfully resists, delays or obstructs a public officer in the discharge or attempting to discharge a duty of his office is guilty of a misdemeanor in violation of Section 1851 of the Penal Law of the State of New York at Rochester, New York, on 1/6/63." The code shown is 0802-2. The blotter showed he was held. The arresting officers were shown as [redacted] and [redacted] Descriptive information similar to that previously shown was included. In the space for the name of the complainant there was recorded [redacted] Under remarks there was recorded the following:

b7D,C [redacted]

With regard to the number in the space for the name of the complainant, [redacted]

b7D,C

The second arrest blotter form contained the same information except that the charge is shown as "assault - third degree upon the body of [redacted] at Rochester on January 6, 1963." The code is shown as 0801-2.

b7D,C

b7D,C

The Identification Division form for [redacted] contained a mugged picture and descriptive information. In addition to that previously shown the following is noted:

b7D,C

Height
Weight
Eyes
Fingerprint classification [redacted]

b7D,C

The accomplice shown was [redacted]

Page 2 of the identification record shows the following entries:

Date of Arrest	Charge	Officer	Disposition
1/6/63	Resisting public officer in discharge of his duty (1851 NYS Penal Law)	[redacted]	
1/6/63	Assault 3rd degree with [redacted] 37614 assaulted Officers [redacted] at 304 North St. While officers were investigating a complaint of a man with a gun. A number of other men also prevented Officers from making investigation but fled upon arrival of other Officer.		Judge CASSETTI 1/7/63 with dism police

b7C

b7C

Date of Arrest	Charge	Officer	Disposition
1/7/63	Assault 2nd degree information above; assault on Officer [redacted]	[redacted]	
1/7/63	Assault 2nd degree information above; Assault on Officer [redacted]		

b7C

The identification record showed that neither the files of the New York State Department of Correction or the FBI had a prior record on [redacted]

b7C

RE: [redacted]

Files contained a pedigree sheet dated January 6, 1963, reporting the following information regarding [redacted]

The file reported his address to be [redacted] and the charge which had been placed against him January 6, 1963, was 1851 PL 3rd assault. Record indicated arrest had been made by Officers [redacted] that [redacted] reported no previous arrests and had been arrested January 6, 1963, without a warrant. The file indicated [redacted] had been arrested at 8:40 p.m., January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York. Records reported the following identifying information regarding [redacted]

b7C

b7D,C

Age
Date of birth
Color
Sex
Marital status
Occupation
Employer

[redacted]

b7D,C

The nearest relative of [redacted] is recorded to be his mother, [redacted]

b7C

The pedigree sheet recorded the amount of bail in connection with the charge was placed at $1,000, and that the pedigree sheet had been taken by Officer [redacted]

b7D,C

The file contained two arrest blotter sheets, both of which were identical with the exception of the charge recorded thereon. Both blotter sheets were dated January 6, 1963, and contained the same charges as shown by the blotter sheets for [redacted] With the exception of descriptive information the blotter sheets for [redacted] contained the same information as those for [redacted]

b7D,C

The file contained an Identification Division sheet for [redacted] which showed a mugged photograph and descriptive information. In addition to the descriptive data which has already been set forth regarding [redacted] this identification sheet showed [redacted] to be a [redacted] and with the following scars and marks:

[redacted]

b7D,C

The record showed the fingerprint classification of [redacted] to be:

[redacted]

b7D,C

The identification sheet showed accomplice of [redacted]

b7D,C

Page 2 of the Identification Division form was identical to that shown for [redacted] This page showed the same charges on January 6, 1963 and January 7, 1963.

The identification record showed that neither the New York State Department of Correction or the FBI had a prior criminal record for [redacted]

[redacted] pointed out that [redacted] were arrested for assault third, however, that when they were arraigned in court on January 7, 1963, they were arraigned on assault second instead of assault third.

Included in the file was a copy of the typewritten daily report of the incident bearing number [redacted] This daily report was as follows:

"2 OFFICERS ASSAULTED BY ALLEDGED BLACK MUSLIMS-2 ARRESTS. District 1 8.30 P.M. [redacted] assigned to investigate a complaint that there was a man with a gun above BUDDY'S CASINO at 304 North St. report that when they arrived at the above address, they were met downstairs by an unidentified Negro male who was acting as a door man and who told the Officers that they were not allowed to go upstairs to the meeting hall and tried to shove the officers out. They told him of the complaint, and went past him. He yelled upstairs that the Police were coming. When they reached the top of the stairs, they were met by two more doormen later identified as [redacted] who without warning started assaulting the officers, and kept yelling inside the hall that Police Officers were coming in and that they were not to be allowed inside. During this time [redacted] was punched in the mouth and left ear, and about the body, and [redacted] was being punched about the stomach and forehead with out a chance to defend themselves. About 8 more Negro males then came from inside and started to assault and hold the Officers. During the time of the assault the Officers kept telling the men that they had recieved a call to investigate at the hall, but a man who identified himself as [redacted] address unknown, and who claimed that he is a minister, stated that the Officers had no business entering the hall under any circumstances. At this time assistance for the Officers arrived, [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted] were arrested for assault third and interfering with police officers. They were brought to the [redacted] where they were questioned by [redacted] and [redacted] and admitted struggling with the officers and also admitted that they were or are members of a group, professing to be a religion called the BLACK MUSLIMS and that each member of the group uses an (X) in their name concerning their original origin according to the religion. There was no gun found although many of the men attending the meeting had fled while the Officers were being assaulted [redacted]

b7D,C

treated by [redacted] recieved a broken blood vessle in his ear and a laceration to his mouth. [redacted] recieved a bruise and lump on his forehead and bruises to his body. Both will see the Police Physician 1/7/62. Special reports will be written regarding the above."

b7D,C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] were placed under arrest by Officers [redacted] Others who arrived at the scene at approximately 8:40 p.m. on January 6, 1963, included, in addition to those previously mentioned, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that [redacted] were questioned at headquarters by [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted] advised that at no time were any allegations made by any of the persons arrested on January 6, 1963, or later that they had been subjected to brutality or mistreatment by police officers of the Rochester Police Department.

b7D,C

[redacted] advised with respect to a fire alarm turned in on January 13, 1963, described later in this report, [redacted] He said he was of the

6TD

opinion that whoever made the false fire report [redacted] and was attempting to create another incident on January 13, 1963.

6TD

[redacted] advised that to his knowledge officers of the Police Department were not aware that the meeting at 304 North Street on January 16,1963, was a Muslim meeting. He said it was known that the premises at this address was used as a meeting hall for eight Masonic lodges. He said that the landlord on or about January 7, 1963, informed the Muslims that they could no longer use the hall as a meeting place.

The files of the Rochester, New York, Police Department, made available for review by [redacted] b7D [redacted] included written statements of police officers involved in the incident of January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, and the results of investigation by police officials.

These documents were as follows:

"Date January 6, 1963

[redacted] b7D

"Assault on 2 Police Officers

"Sir:

"At approximately 8:30 P.M. January 6, 1963, [redacted] recieved a call [redacted] apartment over Buddy's Casino 304 North St. for a complaint with a man with a gun. [redacted] b7D [redacted] on a gun complaint, and tried to block our way, by grabbing and pushing [redacted] a group of 8 or 10 Negro men, who were saying, 'No one, not even Police were allowed up there'. [redacted] said that there was no one in there with a gun, 'Get out', they then attacked [redacted] They then started throwing punches. [redacted]

;jmb

[redacted] While these men were punching [redacted] the remainder of the group were behind them and because of the small space they were reaching over the back of their shoulders, [redacted] This attack lasted about 2 minutes before help arrived. [redacted] arrested a [redacted] and a [redacted] for third degree assault and violation of section 1851 of the Penal law. [redacted]

67D

"Respectively Submitted

67D [redacted]

"Date Jan 6 1963

67D [redacted]

"Assault on Two Officers

"Sir:

67D "At 8:30 P.M. January 6, 1963, [redacted] investigate a complaint that there was a man above Buddy's Casino upstairs over 304 North St. with a gun, [redacted] there an unidentified Negro male who was acting as a door man tried to stop [redacted] that there was a man with a gun up there, [redacted] that there was no Police allowed,

b7D,C

"under any circumstances, and pushed [redacted] two more doormen were waiting [redacted] told them [redacted] recieved a call that there was a man with a gun at that location, and without warning they [redacted] assaulted [redacted] then at least 10 more Negro males jumped on [redacted] they stated that no Police were allowed under any circumstances. More help then arrived, [redacted] arrested [redacted] for assault third, and interfering with a Police Officer 1851. After the men were brought to the [redacted]

"Respectively Submitted

b7D,C

[redacted]

"Date Jan 6th 1963

b7D, C [redacted]

"Incident 304 North Street

"Sir:

b7D, C [redacted] respectfully submit the following report relative to the incident at 304 North St at Rochester, New York on January 6th. 1963

b7C [redacted] call 'Man with a gun over Buddy's Casino located at 304 North Street:' at approx. 8:40 pm. Upon arrival [redacted] unable to get inside, because someone had a hold and was restraining [redacted] by his jacket. This party was standing in the doorway blocking it so [redacted] were not able to pass; [redacted] were able to push [redacted] inside and by this time more help had arrived. [redacted] men who had assaulted them and they were arrested and placed [redacted] The men were identified as [redacted] They were taken to the [redacted] for questioning and statements.

"Pedigrees were taken and they were placed in cellblocks [redacted]

"Respectfully submitted,

[redacted]

"Date Jan 7th 1963

[redacted]

b7D,C

"Incident at 304 North Street

"Sir:

b7D,C

[redacted] respectfully submit the following report relative to the incident at 304 North Street at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6th. 1963.

"At approx. 8:40 pm [redacted] Man with a gun at 304 North Street over Buddy's Casino.' [redacted]

b7C

officers, [redacted] being held by several men. [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted] were identified as the men who assaulted [redacted] and they were placed under arrest. They were

[redacted] where they were questioned and later placed in cells.

b7D,C

"Respectfully Submitted,

[redacted]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C),(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
44-21493-9 pages 24, 25

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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XXXXXX

BU 44-193

"Date Jan. 7 1963

"From: [redacted]

To: [redacted]

Subject: Incident at 304 North St.

"Sir: At about 8:30 P.M. [redacted]

[redacted] the trouble was upstairs. [redacted] had recived a call of a man with a gun. I saw one of the men that was arrested holding [redacted] by his jacket and would not let him inside. When [redacted] order was extended. The group of men were then lined aginst the wall name and address were taken. They were also serched.

[redacted]

"Respectfully Submitted

[redacted]

;jmv

BU 44-193

"Date Jan. 7 1963

"From: [redacted]

b7DC

To: [redacted]

Subject: Incident at # 304 North St.

"Sir: On the night of Jan. 6 at about 8:30 P.M., [redacted]

b7DC

[redacted] looked in and saw that the police were at the top of the stairs, [redacted] the trouble was upstairs, and [redacted] I saw [redacted] at the top of the stairway being punched and pushed back against the wall. [redacted] were also at the top of the stairway, trying to assist. [redacted] a call, a man with a gun, and to let them in. [redacted] saw a negro mans hands grabing [redacted] by his Jacket. [redacted] because he was behind the door that was pushed open. [redacted] placed them under arrest. They were then brought out to the wagon. [redacted] lined every one up against the wall, searched, and took their names.

;jmv

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

44-21493-9 page 28

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FBI/DOJ

BU 44-193

"Date Jan. 7 1963

"From: [redacted]

67D,C

To: [redacted]

Subject: 2 Arrests made at 304 North St.

"Sir:

"On Sunday January 6, 1963 at about 8:40 P.M. [redacted] noticed a flashing red light up near Buddy's Casino. I ran up to see what the trouble was. [redacted] I noticed that the Officers had two Negro males inside.

"I was told by [redacted] recieved a call upstairs over Buddy's Casino, 304 North St. and of the circumstances which led to the arrest, [redacted]

67D,C

[redacted] proceeded to take the names and addresses of the persons inside and after looking around for the alleged gun, and other arms. [redacted]

"Respectively submitted

[redacted]

;jmv

"January 6th, 1963

"From: [redacted]

"To: [redacted]

"Subject: [redacted]

b7D,C

"Sir;

[redacted]

[redacted] 304 North St, above Buddy's Casino, of a report of a man with a gun. [redacted] that they were assaulted by the Black Muslim group, and they had arrested two of them. [redacted] They didn't like the idea of the Police Officer going into their meeting. [redacted]

[redacted]

"Respectfully submitted,

[redacted]

;dgr

"Date January 6, 1963

67D,C

"From: [redacted]

"To: [redacted]

"Subject: Assault upon [redacted]
at 304 North Street

"Dear Sir:

"The following report is respectfully submitted for your information and consideration.

[redacted] at 304 North Street, above Buddy's Casina. [redacted] officers were assaulted upstairs at 304 North Street and that the two assailants were arrested [redacted]

67D,C

[redacted] The officers were taking the names and addresses of approximately twenty Negro males. This was taking place in a large room, to the right of the landing of the top of the front stairway.

[redacted] At approximately 8:30 P.M. they received a call to go to above Buddy's Casina, on North Street, as there was a man with a gun there. [redacted] opened the front door to ascend the stairs to investigate the complaint. They were met, as they opened the door, by an unknown Negro male, who stated they could not enter and attempted to restrain them. [redacted] caused them to believe that something more serious was taking place upstairs. They told the man of the nature of their call and when he held them back, [redacted] top landing, eight to ten members appeared from the meeting room and held and assaulted the Officers, while holding their arms. The Officers repeatedly shouted to the men that they were inestigating a man with a gun complaint while an unknown man from within the meeting

;dgr

"room shouted, 'don't let them in, no Police allowed." The two Officers were repeatedly assaulted for several minutes until additional help arrived, [redacted] The two assailants whom the Officers recognized were immediately placed under arrest. While [redacted] securing names and addresses of the members present.

b7D,C

[redacted] asked the minister, [redacted] to step into a side room to listen to his side of the story. [redacted] a lodge called the Mitchell Lodge #11 of the Modern Masons and that it was a Muslim organization. [redacted] denied having witnessed the affair in the hallway, [redacted] stated that the three men were stationed in the hallway to keep all non-members out but they stated that they could not recall the names of any of them. They stated in substance, that the police had no right to enter their hallway or meeting room, as it was a private organization. It was an impossibility for one of their members to have had a gun, they said, because all members are searched before entering the meeting room. Emphatically, they voiced the opinion that police are disliked and not trusted by their organization, as a result of there members being shot in Los Angeles, in April of this year. When asked why guards were stationed in the hallway to prevent anyone not to enter, they did not wish to discuss this, as it was a reason in their religion. Then three other members entered and informed the two men that they had placed the long distance calls that they were instructed to make.

b7D,C

[redacted] told them of the seriousness of the call and the responsibility of the police to answer and investigate such complaints. This apparently did not impress them as they persisted [redacted] had no right to even be in the building. They both admitted hearing the Officers in the hall shout that they were there to investigate a man there with a gun.

b7D,C

[redacted] a nine inch bladed bread knife [redacted] found in the hallway landing

"where the assault took place. All denied ownership of it. One of the members accepted it for use as a kitchen knife. Needless to say, the gun was never found.

[redacted] the two prisoners were transported to Police Headquarters. [redacted] the two arrested men, [redacted] and [redacted] were being questioned [redacted]

b7D,C

"Both men were charged with Assault 3rd. and Resisting an Officer in the performance of his duty (Sect. 1851 P.L.). Their attorney, [redacted] was also there. They claimed they were assaulted by the police officers while being questioned. [redacted] ordered both men photographed and also the two [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted]

"Respectfully submitted,

[redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted]

BU 44-193

January 9, 1963

b7D,C

From: [redacted]

To: [redacted]

Subject: Investigation at 304 North St.Muslim meeting place.

b7D,C

[redacted] further investigation of the incident the previous night [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted] eight lodges and auxilaries of the Masons meet at different times at the hall,each meeting twice a month. The hall is rented to the Muslim sect through the lodges ' City Council' made up of members of the eight lodges. [redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted]

b7D,C

[redacted]

;dmb

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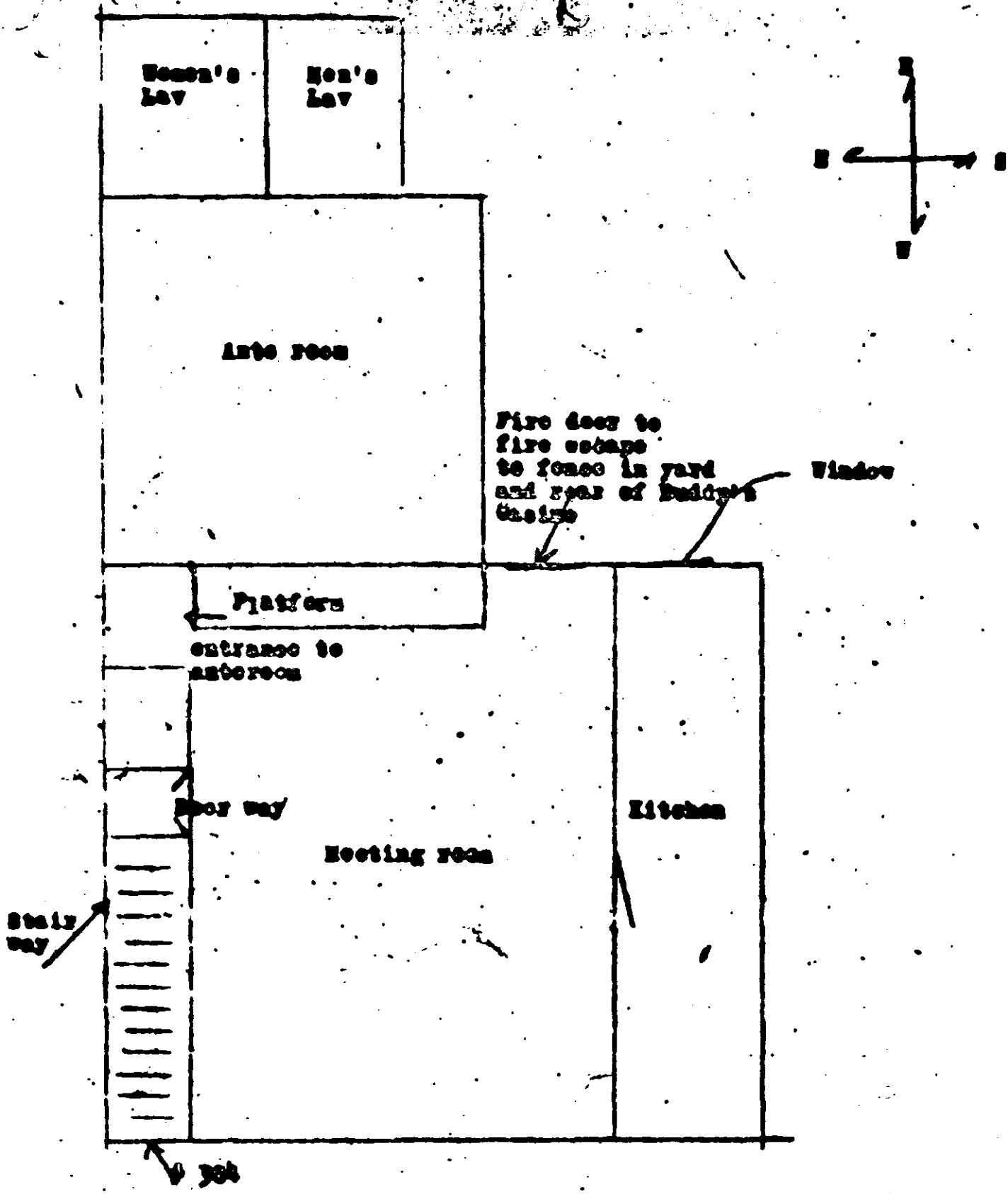
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Second floor diagram 308 North St.



"January 14 63

[redacted]

67D,C

"At about 8:30 P.M., January 6, 1963 [redacted] patrolmen, [redacted] responded to an anonymous complaint of a man with a gun over Buddy's Casino at 304 North St. This complaint resulted in an incident involving the two officers and several male negros who were attending a Muslim meeting in rooms over Buddy's Casino. The two officers were refused admittance and subsequently over-powered when they attempted to gain entry to investigate the complaint. An additional detail of police personnel resulted in the two officers being released with no serious physical injury.

67D,C

"Two members of the Muslim meeting were arrested on charges of assault 3rd degree. They were identified as [redacted] and [redacted] Upon appearance in City Court on January 7, 1963, Judge Alphonse Cassetti ordered that the two defendants be held on charges of assault 2nd degree and their cases referred to the Grand Jury. [redacted]

67D,C

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

local Muslim group.

b7A,C

organization in the City of Rochester.

[redacted]

"On January 13, 1963,

b7D,C

[redacted] fire alarm had been given for the premises over Buddy's Casino a short time before. He reports that police personnel were directing traffic at the scene and that

[redacted]

b7A,C

refrain from entering the location

[redacted]

the Fire Department be removed from the scene immediately. This was done at about 10:00 P.M.

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FBI/DOJ

b7C

On March 5, 1963, JOHN J. CONWAY, JR., District Attorney, Monroe County, Rochester, New York, supplied to SA(A) [redacted] and [redacted] a copy from his file of the indictment of the 18 persons who were identified at the meeting on January 6, 1963. This indictment is as follows:

"SUPREME COURT COUNT OF MONROE

"THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

-vs-

"WAYNON W. BROWN, TYRONE DASH, HERMAN EASTON, ELMER GRANT, WADDELL JOHNSON, ALFONSO MC KINNEY, JEFF MOORE, DONNELL OLIVER, AERIEL PAGAN, HOWARD QUEEN, STANLEY ROBINSON, GEORGE SALADIN, CLARENCE SHAW, GOLDSTEIN SMALL, WILLIE WALKER, BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, HENRY P. WILLIAMS and ROBERT JAMES X WILLIAMS.

"FIRST COUNT:

"THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, accuse the defendants WAYNON W. BROWN, TYRONE DASH, HERMAN EASTON, ELMER GRANT, WADDELL JOHNSON, ALFONSO MC KINNEY, JEFF MOORE, DONNELL OLIVER, AERIEL PAGAN, HOWARD QUEEN, STANLEY ROBINSON, GEORGE SALADIN, CLARENCE SHAW, GOLDSTEIN SMALL, WILLIE WALKER, BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, HENRY P. WILLIAMS, ROBERT JAMES X WILLIAMS of the crime of Riot, in violation of Section 2090 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, on or about January 6, 1962, at the City of Rochester, County of Monroe, State of New York, being then and there assembled, feloniously and unlawfully did threaten and attempt to do an unlawful act by the use of

:dbl

force and violence to wit: did threaten and attempt to assault and injure certain public officers of the City of Rochester, namely, Police Officer John Hunt and Police Officer Anthony D'Angelo of the said city, by threatening and attempting to throw the said public officers down a stairway, and by seizing, striking and beating the said public officers in furtherance of said threat and attempt, the said defendants being then and there present and accompanied with the power of immediate execution of such threat and attempt."

"SECOND COUNT:

"AND THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, further accuse the defendants of the crime of Assault in the Third Degree, in violation of Section 244 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, at the same time and place set forth in the first count of this indictment, wrongfully, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did assault said Police Officer John Hunt by seizing, striking and beating the said officer with their hands and fists.

"THIRD COUNT:

"AND THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, further accuse the defendants of the crime of Assault in the Third Degree, in violation of Section 244 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, at the same time and place set forth in the first count of this indictment, wrongfully, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did assault said Police Officer Anthony D'Angelo by seizing, striking and beating the said officer with their hands and fists.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF MONROE COUNTY

The indictment was returned on February 1, 1963. He said that the Grand Jury was presented evidence concerning [redacted] for assault charges at this time. On the initiative of the Grand Jury charges were brought against the additional 16 persons. One of the grand jurors on his own initiative proposed that they be charged with the crime of riot. This charge is included in the indictment, as well as the charges of assault.

b7C

On March 7, 1963, [redacted] advised that those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963, have been arrested with the exceptions of [redacted]

b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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EFFORTS TO LOCATE AND
INTERVIEW WITNESSES AND VICTIMS

In connection with another investigation, [redacted] advised [redacted] on February 19, 1963, that [redacted] the members of the Nation of Islam indicted by the Monroe County (Rochester), New York, Grand Jury, in January, 1963, as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963. He stated this incident involved the fight which took place between members of the Rochester, New York Police Department and Negroes who were attending a Nation of Islam meeting on the evening of January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York. [redacted] advised that two members of the Nation of Islam, [redacted] and [redacted] were arrested by the Rochester Police Department at that time. Shortly thereafter, 16 members of the Nation of Islam who had attended this meeting were indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury at Rochester and charged with third degree assault and rioting.

b7D,C

[redacted] stated that after giving this matter due consideration [redacted] does not deem it appropriate to make a complaint at this time against the arresting officers for actions involving a possible violation of the civil rights of those arrested. [redacted] his main reason is because at this time there are too many undetermined questions of fact. He added that he may make a complaint on this matter at a later date after he becomes more familiar with the actual facts which took place.

b7D,C

;dbl

FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date 3/8/63

[redacted] was contacted telephonically on March 4, 1963, and advised that investigation had been initiated to determine the circumstances of the incident on January 6, 1963, in which officers of the Rochester Police Department encountered members of the sect known as the Nation of Islam at 304 North Street, Rochester, at a place known as Buddy's Casino. [redacted] was advised that [redacted] previously informed [redacted] the members of the Nation of Islam who were arrested as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963.

b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] the members of the Nation of Islam arrested as a result of the January 6, 1963, incident, [redacted] no comment until he could confer with [redacted] attorneys. [redacted]

b7C

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C

by SA [redacted] dbl Date dictated 3/7/63

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48

b7C [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

b7C [redacted] was requested to ask [redacted] to contact SA [redacted] at his office or home as soon as possible.

;dbl

Date 3/7/63

[redacted] telephonically advised that his wife had transmitted a request that he contact SA [redacted] of the FBI. He stated he is the [redacted] formerly resided at [redacted] Buffalo, New York.

b7D,C

[redacted] was advised that the FBI was conducting an investigation of possible violations of the Civil Rights of certain individuals, including himself, by members of the Rochester, New York Police Department, on January 6, 1963 at Rochester.

b7D

[redacted] was requested to designate a time and place convenient for him to be interviewed regarding this matter and he stated Wednesday, March 6, 1963 at the FBI Office, Buffalo, would be satisfactory for him.

b7D

On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C

by SA [redacted]:mak Date dictated 3/4/63

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5c

FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

At about 10:00 PM, March 5, 1963, [redacted] was contacted telephonically at [redacted] at which time he stated he would not appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI at 9:00 AM on March 6, 1963 as he had stated he would, because he conferred with attorney [redacted] Rochester, New York, and was advised not to permit an interview by the FBI at this time. He stated [redacted] is one of five attorneys representing himself, [redacted] and the other members involved in the January 6, 1963 [redacted] incident at Rochester. He stated [redacted] told him that [redacted] desired to confer with the four other attorneys involved and since one of them was sick he could not do so until March 6, 1963.

b7D,C

[redacted] stated he anticipated hearing from [redacted] on March 6, 1963 and would immediately advise SA [redacted] if an interview would be permitted.

b7D,C

[redacted] stated the injunction of [redacted] not to permit an interview by the FBI applied not only to himself but to other individuals represented by [redacted] after being charged in the January 6, 1963 incident.

[redacted] stated he is aware [redacted] and [redacted] did not appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI on March 5, 1963 to keep the appointments they had made. He stated they did not keep these appointments because he instructed them not to do so on the basis of [redacted] decision. He stated he is certain none of [redacted] clients would permit interview until [redacted] through [redacted] authorizes it.

b7D,C

On 3/5/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/6/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

b7D,C [redacted] telephonically advised at [redacted] March 6, 1963 that he consulted with attorney [redacted] Rochester, New York, on March 6, 1963 and was advised by [redacted] not to permit interview of himself or other individuals involved in the incident of January 6, 1963 at Rochester. He stated [redacted] could be consulted to verify the above contact and decision.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/7/63

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Date 3/7/63

[redacted] Rochester, New York, said he had heard on the night of March 4, 1963, that certain Nation of Islam members in Rochester had been interviewed by the FBI concerning an alleged civil rights violation lodged by an unknown member of the Nation of Islam. SHAW said he therefore was reluctant to discuss the matter with the FBI at this time. b7D

[redacted] was advised that he had the right to consult an attorney, that he did not have to make a statement and that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law. No threats or promises were made. The interviewing Agents identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI. b7D

[redacted] advised that he has been a member of the Nation of Islam for about two years, having joined the organization while living in [redacted] b7D

[redacted] has attended meetings of the Nation of Islam at Rochester for a period of months; and occasionally sells the Nation of Islam newspaper, "Muhammad Speaks"; the last time being during the evening of March 4, 1963 in Rochester. b7D

[redacted] said he was in attendance at a Nation of Islam meeting during the evening of January 6, 1963, and that that meeting had just started, with Minister [redacted] of Buffalo, New York leading in a prayer, when [redacted] heard a commotion at the entrance way of the meeting room. b7D

[redacted] said he was sitting toward the front of the audience and therefore could not see what was going on, but he did notice two police officers, in uniform, in the doorway. He became aware at the time, that the officers were trying to enter the hall, for reasons unknown to him, and that there was an objection from the Nation of Islam members because of the religious services then in progress. b7D

A short time later, an unknown additional number of officers arrived and those remaining, including [redacted] were required by the officers, to identify themselves. [redacted] did not b7D

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] rd Date dictated 3/6/63

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observe any blows struck, or any physical action, in any manner, by either any of the police officers or members of the Nation of Islam present.

A small number of those who had been in attendance at the meeting left before being identified. He said he could not recall who those persons were.

[redacted] said he observed nothing during the time of the above described incident which he would consider a violation of civil rights, with the exception that it was a "violation of the members rights when the meeting was broken up." He continued that he did hear at any later date that either [redacted] were mistreated by the police officers during, or after, their arrest on January 6, 1963. 67D

[redacted] said he was not struck or handled in any way during the incident described, that he has no complaint to register in regard to that incident, and that he has not heard of any complaint on the part of others who were in attendance. 67D

[redacted] was reluctant to furnish specific details regarding the aforementioned matter. He mentioned that among the persons present at the Nation of Islam meeting mentioned, are: 67D

[redacted] 67D,C

[redacted] furnished his description as follows:

Name [redacted]
Sex
Race
Date of Birth
Place of Birth
Residence 67D

Height
Weight
Build
Hair
Complexion
Occupation
Marital Status
Immediate Relatives

[redacted]

67D

Criminal Record

Social Security No.
Employment

Education

Military Service

67D [redacted] was unwilling to furnish a signed statement.

Date 3/7/63

67D [redacted] at the outset of this interview was advised that he did not have to make a statement, that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law, and that he had a right to the immediate assistance of an attorney. No threats or promises were made.

The interviewing Agent identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

67D [redacted] said he is a member of the Nation of Islam and was present at a meeting of that organization January 6, 1963; and that as a result of an incident at that meeting, between officers of the Rochester, N.Y. Police Department and members of the Nation of Islam [redacted] was arrested and charged with assault on the officers.

67D,C [redacted] said he has no complaint to register regarding a possible Civil Rights violation, but that one would possibly originate, at a later date, from [redacted] of Buffalo, N.Y. He identified [redacted] as the Minister of Nation of Islam Mosque number 23, Buffalo, N.Y.

[redacted] said there is no Mosque, or Nation of Islam leadership in Rochester and that therefore, any directives to Rochester would come from Buffalo.

67D,C [redacted] continued that he had heard, on the night of March 4, 1963, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was interviewing members of the Nation of Islam, at Rochester, concerning this matter, and that he therefore, telephoned [redacted] to advise him.

67D [redacted] indicated that instructions as to what to do would necessarily have to come through MALCOLM X LITTLE, of New York City, who would get his directive from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Supreme Leader, located in Chicago, Illinois.

67D [redacted] said he is still waiting for instructions from [redacted] and that no one in Rochester was authorized to speak for the group, nor would any member discuss the matter with the Federal Bureau of Investigation until such time that the instructions are received.

[redacted] would not furnish further details.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

67C by SA [redacted]jrz Date dictated 3/6/63

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Date 3/7/63

[redacted] was contacted at his home and was advised by Special Agents of the FBI that they wanted to talk to him concerning what he saw and heard at the meeting at 302 North Street, Rochester, New York, during the evening of January 6, 1963. 67D

[redacted] stated that he was present at instant meeting [redacted] when uniformed policemen entered the room. [redacted] stated that one of the policemen pushed him aside when entering the room. 67D

[redacted] declined to answer any other questions and advised that he did not wish to give any detailed statement at the present time. [redacted] said that he would telephonically contact the Rochester, New York Office of the FBI at approximately 8:30 AM on Tuesday, March 5, 1963, and at that time he would know whether he would be willing to give any other statement concerning the events at the instant meeting and would so advise the FBI of his intention.

At approximately 8:30 AM on Tuesday, March 5, 1963, [redacted] telephonically advised SA [redacted] that he did not wish to make any other statement to the FBI. He stated he believes the statement he gave to the FBI on March 4, 1963 was sufficient and that he did not wish to elaborate on it. 67D

The following description of [redacted] was obtained through observation and interview:

67D

Sex	[redacted]
Race	
Date of Birth	
Place of Birth	
Height	
Weight	
Eyes	
Hair	
Build	
Characteristic	
Parents	

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

67C by SA [redacted] and [redacted] Date dictated 3/5/63

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 3/7/63

[redacted] was contacted March 4, 1963 at his home, advised of the identity and affiliation of the Agents, that he did not have to make any statement, and that the statement, if made, might be used in a court of law.

b7D [redacted] was requested to furnish any information he may possess concerning his observation of, or participation in, an incident which occurred at about 8:30 PM, January 6, 1963, between members of the Police Bureau, Rochester, New York, and individuals who were in an upstairs room over Buddy's Casino on North Street, Rochester, New York.

He advised he and several others were praying in this room when he heard some loud voices and some commotion in the hallway near the door to the room. Whatever happened took place so fast that he did not see anything that took place and that it was all over very fast.

At this point he stated he did not desire to make any further statement concerning this matter without first consulting with some person whom he refused to identify. At b7D the request of the interviewing Agents, [redacted] agreed to telephonically contact the Rochester Resident Agency at about 8:30 AM, March 5, 1963, and advise the Agents whether or not he would furnish any further statement.

At 10:55 AM, March 5, 1963, [redacted] was contacted at his home in view of the fact he had not communicated with the Agents as agreed to above. [redacted] stated he had been sleeping b7D and did not think it necessary to contact the Agents because he had decided not to make any further statement. At that time, [redacted] stated he did not desire to discuss the incident further, refused to make any statement, or to answer any questions.

The following description was obtained from interview and files of [redacted]

b7D

Name
Address
Race [redacted]

On 3/4-5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] Date dictated 3/5/63

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b7D,C

Sex
Date of Birth
Place of Birth
Height
Weight
Build
Marital Status
Education
Relatives

Occupation
Employment
Criminal Record

Monroe County MO No.



[redacted] contacted March 4, 1963, at his home, was advised of the identity of the Agents, was told that he did not have to make any statement, and that any statement, if made, could be used in a court of law. 67D

[redacted] was requested to furnish any information he may possess concerning an incident that occurred between members of the Rochester, New York Police Department and individuals who were upstairs over Buddy's Casino on North Street, Rochester, New York, at about 8:30 p.m., January 6, 1963. [redacted] stated he was present, but added he did not desire to make any statement until after he had discussed this with an individual whom he refused to identify. He added he would contact that person and advise telephonically at about 8:30 a.m. the following morning whether he would make any statement or discuss any details of what he observed. 67D

At 11:35 a.m., March 5, 1963 [redacted] was recontacted at his home in view of his failure to contact the Agents at about 8:30 a.m. that morning as agreed upon. Upon recontact, [redacted] stated he did not desire to make any statement nor discuss the incident. 67D

On 3/4,5/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Date dictated 3/6/63 67D

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

[redacted] Rochester, New York, was advised he did not have to make a statement, any statement he did make could be used in a court of law and of his right to consult an attorney.

b7D

[redacted] declined to furnish any information until consulting his attorney and the local leader for an organization of which he is a member. [redacted] stated he has been in contact with [redacted] who had advised him, before he furnished any information, he wanted to consult with the local leader for an organization of which he is a member also.

b7D

[redacted] declined to identify the organization or the identity of the leader.

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C

by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] /rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIG[illegible]ION

-1- Date 3/7/63

[redacted]

Rochester, New York, telephonically advised that on the advice of his leader he did not wish to discuss the matter further and declined to furnish any further information. [redacted] advised that others have also been advised by their leader not to furnish any information.

b7D

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 3/7/63

[redacted] Rochester, New York, employed [redacted] was advised he did not have to make a statement, any statement he did make could be used in a court of law and of his right to consult an attorney.

b7D

[redacted] stated that upon the advice of their leader, [redacted] he would decline to furnish any information or make any statements, in connection with any matters at this time.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C

by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] Date dictated 3/5/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 3/6/63

-1-

b7D [redacted] was located at his residence [redacted] at that time, SAs [redacted] and [redacted] identified themselves with their credentials as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

b7D [redacted] was advised that the FBI had been requested to interview persons who attended a meeting at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6, 1963 at which Rochester police officers appeared. He was advised that the FBI was not making inquiry with regard to any local criminal violations but to determine whether [redacted] had any statement to make as to whether he felt any of his rights as an American citizen had been violated. MOORE said that he had no statement to make and that he was going to court on the matter.

b7D [redacted] was again advised that the FBI was not interested in questioning him concerning the local charges [redacted] but solely interested in determining whether he had any statement to make as to what had occurred on January 6, 1963, particularly anything which might indicate that his rights as an American citizen had been violated. [redacted] said he had no statement to make of any kind. He was asked if he had any reason for refusing to make a statement and he replied that he did not and that he did not want to make a statement.

The interview was terminated at this point.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]:dgr Date dictated 3/6/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date 3/7/63

[redacted] at the outset of this interview, was advised that he did not have to make a statement; that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law; and that he had the right to the immediate assistance of an attorney. No threats or promises were made. The interviewing agents identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI. b7D

[redacted] acknowledged that he is a member of the Nation of Islam; and was present at a meeting of that organization held January 6, 1963 on North Street in Rochester, at which two police officers were involved in an incident with Nation of Islam members, and for which [redacted] was later indicted by a Monroe County Grand Jury on a charge of inciting a riot. b7D

[redacted] said he has no complaint to register concerning a possible violation of his civil rights in connection with the matter set forth above. b7D

He suggested that the interviewing agents may wish to contact his superior in the Nation of Islam, [redacted] of Buffalo, New York, for any further information in this regard.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] krd Date dictated 3/6/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

[redacted] New York, employed [redacted] Rochester, was advised he did not have to make a statement, any statement he did make could be used in a court of law and of his right to consult an attorney. b7D

[redacted] declined to make any statement or furnish any information until consulting with his attorney and the leader for a local organization of which he is a member. b7D

[redacted] declined to identify the organization or the identity of the leader.

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] /rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

[redacted] stated that upon the advice of [redacted] he would decline to furnish any information or make any statements. b7D

[redacted] did state the incident took place on January 6, 1963, at 302 North Street, Rochester, and Mr. [redacted] of Buffalo, New York, area Minister of the Nation of Islam, was in charge. He declined to further describe the incident. b7D,C

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] Date dictated 3/5/63 b7C

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 3/6/63

-1-

[redacted] contacted SA [redacted] at the Buffalo office. He was advised that SA [redacted] desired to interview him concerning an incident at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6, 1963. He was informed that the purpose of the interview was not to investigate his activities at Rochester on that date but to determine whether he had any statements to make concerning the incident. He was asked specifically whether he wished to make any comment as to whether he believed any of his civil rights had been violated. 67D,C

[redacted] replied that any such inquiries would have to be discussed with his Minister, [redacted] It was pointed out that the Agent desired [redacted] comments as to what took place and [redacted] said that he did not desire to make any comments and that he had nothing further to say. He did not want to be interviewed. 67D,C

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

by SA [redacted] dgr Date dictated 3/6/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

[redacted] was contacted telephonically on March 4, 1963, and advised that an investigation was being conducted into possible violations of the Civil Rights of himself and other individuals involved in an incident with the Rochester, New York Police Department on January 6, 1963. b7D

[redacted] stated that he is one of those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury and then arrested as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963. He stated he would be available for interview on March 5, 1963 at 2:00 PM, but would not be available before that time. b7D,C

[redacted] stated [redacted] is the one individual who would know the whereabouts of all or most of the persons involved in the January 6, 1963 incident.

On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C

by SA [redacted]mak Date dictated 3/5/63

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FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1- Date 3/7/63

b7D,C [redacted] advised that he has been instructed by his attorney, [redacted] of Rochester, New York, not to consent to an interview by the FBI. He stated he will, therefore, not consent to an interview at this time.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/6/63

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-302 (Rev. 1-25-60) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D,C [redacted] telephonically contacted SA [redacted] in response to a message left at his place of employment, the [redacted] on March 4, 1963.

[redacted] was advised that an investigation was being conducted of the possible violation of the Civil Rights of himself and other individuals involved with the Rochester, New York Police Department on January 6, 1963.

b7D [redacted] stated he was one of those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury as a result of an incident at Rochester on January 6, 1963. He stated he is willing to be interviewed regarding this matter and would appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI at 4:30 PM on March 5, 1963. He stated he would not be available for interview prior to that time.

When asked about the whereabouts of other individuals involved in the incident of January 6, 1963, [redacted] stated
b7D such inquiries should be made of [redacted] the minister of the group.

On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/5/63

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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44-21493-9pages 72-77

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FBI/DOJ

MISCELLANEOUS

In connection with another matter on February 18, 1963, at Rochester, New York, [redacted] advised that [redacted] an officer of the Rochester, New York Police Department, may have violated the civil rights of [redacted] and an unknown third individual when he arrested them on an occasion within the last year. b7D

On February 15, 1963 [redacted] advised that [redacted] an officer of the Rochester, New York Police Department, may have violated the civil rights of one [redacted] when he arrested [redacted] at Rochester, New York. b7D,C

[redacted] b7D,C

[redacted] b7D,C

[redacted] b7D,C

[redacted] b7C

:dbl

b7C [redacted]

b7D,C [redacted] revealed to SA [redacted] on March 6, 1963, that [redacted] as of this date and was the Minister of Muhammad's Mosque #23 in Buffalo, New York.

b7D,C [redacted]

b7C [redacted] was regarded as a neat, quiet, and cooperative employee.

b7C [redacted]

b7C,D [redacted]

b7C,D [redacted]

:jmo

XXXXXX
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44-21493-9 pages 80-83

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The full text of items of pertinence which have appeared in the Democrat and Chronicle, a daily newspaper published at Rochester, New York; the Rochester Times-Union, a daily newspaper published at Rochester, New York; the Buffalo Evening News, a daily newspaper published at Buffalo, New York; the Courier Express, a daily newspaper published at Buffalo, New York; and "Muhammad Speaks," a periodical published at Chicago, Illinois, are forwarded herewith as an enclosure.

In summary these articles reflect as follows:

In the Democrat and Chronicle of January 13, 1963, an article entitled "Muslims Clash with Police; Pair Arrested" reflects Patrolmen ANTHONY D'ANGELO and JOHN HUNT were taken to Genesee Hospital for treatment after they were slugged. D'ANGELO and HUNT responded to a call at 304 North Street based on an anonymous telephone complaint of "a man with a gun." GOLDSTEIN SMALL, 34, of 80 Atlantic Avenue and DONNELL OLIVER, 23, of 81 Portland Avenue were each charged with two counts of third degree assault and one count of interfering with the duties of a police officer. The article indicated that last night's (January 6, 1963) fight was the first open violence involving police and Black Muslims in Rochester, New York.

In a Buffalo Courier Express article of January 8, 1963, captioned "Cop Involved in Muslim Brawl Gets Threat Call," it is reflected that Patrolman JOHN HUNT of the Rochester, New York, Police Department had received a call stating "Watch your family and watch the house." The article reflected that MALCOLM X of New York City, New York, had filed a complaint with the Rochester Office of the State Human Rights Commission based on the alleged intrusion into a religious meeting on January 6, 1963.

In an article of the Times-Union of January 8, 1963, entitled "Leader of Muslims Defines their Creed" it is reported that MALCOLM X, chief lieutenant for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, spiritual head of the Black Muslims, defined their creed as

: jmb

belief in the one god, Allah. The article reports he further defined their creed as being that the white man's day as ruler of the world is passing, that they do not believe in integration, and that they believe the United States Government should set aside a separate territory in not one state but several for twenty million Negroes.

In an article in the Buffalo Evening News of January 9, 1963, entitled "Muslim Rights Charge Rejected," it is reported the State Commission on Human Rights refused Tuesdey to consider a complaint by Black Muslim leader MALCOLM X that the group's rights were violated by the police at their meeting Sunday night (January 6, 1963).

In an article in the Democrat and Chronicle of January 12, 1963, entitled "City Target of Black Muslim Drive," there is the report that according to State officials who declined to be identified, ex-convicts are being sent to Rochester for a high priority organizing drive by the Black Muslim sect. The article reflects that police officers are concerned over what they say is the apparent aim of the Black Muslims to provoke an incident that would result in one of their members obtaining martyrdom. The article describes the national leader of this "so-called Islamic faith," ELIJAH POOLE MUHAMMAD, as an ex-convict first arrested in 1934 for contributing to the delinquency of a minor and who was later in Federal prisons for failure to register for military service. The article describes MALCOLM X LITTLE as an ex-felon who served two terms in two prisons for larceny.

In an article in the Times-Union January 14, 1963, entitled "Muslims Visited by Firemen," it is reported that for the second successive Sunday authorities were called to the headquarters of the Black Muslim sect at 304 North Street. The article reflects that the Rochester Fire Department responded to a telephone alarm of fire and were blocked by Black Muslims from attending the meeting. The article further reflects the fire alarm was false.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 17, 1963, in an article entitled "Policemen Testify in Muslim Case," reports that policemen testified before the Monroe County Grand Jury to the events which led to the arrest of two Rochester members of the Black Muslim sect last week on charges of assaulting two patrolmen.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 17, 1963, in an article entitled "Officials Plan Meeting to Discuss Black Muslim Significance," reports the Monroe County Human Relations Committee planned a meeting to discuss the significance of the Rochester branch of the Black Muslim sect.

The Times-Union in an article on January 17, 1963, entitled "NAACP Hits Separatists," reports the Rochester Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) records its "unalterable opposition" to all separatist philosophy, whether espoused by the whites or blacks. The article stated the NAACP made its statement to clarify its attitudes for the Black Muslims and other organizations.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 18, 1963, in an article entitled "Muslim Leader, Police Confer," reports that MALCOLM X, New York City representative of the Black Muslims, returned to Rochester yesterday for a one and one-half hour meeting with city law enforcement officials. He said it produced a good area of understanding.

The Times-Union of January 28, 1963, in an editorial entitled "Civil Rights Advances Will Counter Extremists' Hate," expressed the opinion that extremist groups, right and left, white and colored, always lurk on the fringes of American democracy and characterized the Black Muslims as a pseudo-religious organization which preaches hatred for whites and even Negro civil rights leaders and desires a separate Negro country within the United States.

In an article in the Times-Union of January 29, 1963, captioned "Muslim Tells of All Negro Nation Goal," it is reflected that MALCOLM X spoke to an overflow crowd at the University of Rochester's Lower Strong Auditorium and urged Black Muslims to speak and think not as Americans but as Negroes.

The article reflected that MALCOLM X was sponsored by the College Cabinet Sub-Comittee on Civil Rights, University of Rochester, and was introduced by history instructor CHRISTOPHER LINDLEY.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 29, 1963, article entitled "Brotherhood Meeting Told of 'New' Threat," reports the caution by Dr. JAMES H. ROBINSON, D.D., that the Black Muslims are a small but dangerous group which is likely to continue for some time. The article reflects Dr. ROBINSON is the Executive Director of Crossroads Africa, Inc., and pastor emeritus of the Church of the Master in Harlem.

In an article in "Muhammad Speaks" on February 4, 1963, entitled "Rochester: Cops' Newest Target in Harassment Plot," it is reported that a snarling canine police dog helped cops break up a religious service and arrest two Muslims in Rochester, New York, and on another day the same Mosque was invaded by firemen who turned their high-powered hoses on Muslims gathered there. The article stated observers at the brutal canine episode and the fire department invasion feel it is a stepped up program of Muslim harassment. The article reflects that MALCOLM X, national representative of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, thoroughly investigated the situation and found the police were actually guilty of invading premises where religious services were being held.

The Times-Union on February 8, 1963, in an article entitled "Negroes 'Unrealized Hope' " reports in a letter to EUGENE N. NEWPORT, President, Monroe County Non-Partisan League, 9 Waverly Place, that the emergence of the Black Muslims in our community is related to the entrenched proponents of this segregated community.

The Times-Union of February 9, 1963, in an article entitled "10 Black Muslims Arrested on Riot-Assault Charges," reflects that 11 men who were at a Black Muslim meeting when two policemen were assaulted were arrested last night on charges of riot and third degree assault. The six men picked up in Rochester are listed as follows:

ALFONSO MC KINLEY, age 25
65 Hanover Street

HERMAN EASTON, age 24
16 Gordon Park

WADELL JOHNSON, age 29
39 Vienna

HOWARD QUEEN, age 25
5 Schlitzer Alley

WAYMON BROWN, age 24
182 Throupe Street

ARIEL PAGAN, age 26
679 Lake Avenue

The article reports these men and five others at Buffalo, New York, were indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury on charges of third degree assault and riot.

The Courier Express of February 9, 1963, in an article entitled "5 Charged in Assault of 2 Rochester Cops," reports the following men were arrested at Buffalo, New York, on February 8, 1963, as a result of indictment by the Monroe County Grand Jury for riot and third degree assault:

ROBERT JAMES WILLIAMS, age 26
493 East Utica
identified as a minister

WILLIE WALKER, age 40
18 Demond Place

BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, age 37
19 Congressional Walk

STANLEY ROBINSON, age 23
119 Bennett

JEFF MOORE, age 40
277 Court Street

In the article, Lieutenant WINTHROP H. PHELPS, Buffalo, New York, Police Department, describes WILLIAMS as a Minister of Mosque 23, Buffalo.

The Times-Union of February 15, 1963, in an article entitled "Jailed Muslims, Fasting or Dieting?," reports 13 Black Muslims held in the Monroe County Jail since last Friday "won't die the way they're eating now." The article reports the Muslims claim to be fasting while in jail.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 15, 1963, reports in an article entitled "Muslim Assails Police Hostility" that MALCOLM X, heir apparent of leadership of the nationwide Muslim movement returned to Rochester yesterday and declared that before long that Rochester will be better known internationally than Oxford, Mississippi, and may be setting a precedent for police hostility towards Muslims.

The Buffalo Evening News of February 16, 1963, in an article entitled "6 From Buffalo Freed on Bond," reports that Buffalo men WILLIAMS, WALKER, WHITTAKER, ROBINSON, MOORE, and one ELMER L. GRANT, age 33, 61 Donaldson Road, were released on Friday on $500 bond each, which money was allegedly posted by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, national leader of the Black Muslims.

The Times-Union of February 16, 1963, reflects the following men were released on bond: BROWN, EASTON, JOHNSON, MC KINLEY, PAGAN, and QUEEN, as well as those from Buffalo. The article reflects that DONNEL OLIVER and GOLDSTEIN SMALL had been previously released on bond.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 18, 1963, in an article entitled "Negroes Call for Unity to Protest Abuses," reflected that a session of the local NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Monroe County Non-Partisan League, the Committee for Rufus Fairwell, and the Rochester Civil Rights Committee discussed Negro rights and was addressed by MALCOLM X.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 22, 1963, in an article entitled "NAACP Gives Stand on Muslim Sect," reports the Rochester branch of the NAACP last night decided to restate its position because of the presence of Muslim speakers at a meeting last Sunday which the NAACP helped sponsor. The article reflects that the NAACP is in total disagreement with any separatist group.

The Democrat and Chronicle of March 1, 1963, in an item entitled "Muslim Meeting Riot Trial Set for March 18," reports that March 18, 1963, is set as the trial date for 15 men charged with riot and third degree assault as a result of a scuffle with police at a Black Muslim meeting on January 6, 1963. The article reflects attorneys as REUBEN K. DAVIS, ROBERT L. BRENNA, CHARLES B. KENNING, ALAN J. UNDERBERG, and MERWYN M. KROLL for the defense.

The article in the Democrat and Chronicle of March 2, 1963, reflects that the NAACP and CORE turned down an offer of cooperation made by the national head of the Muslim sect. NAACP and CORE made it clear that their objectives differ from the Muslim aim to segregate the races. The article pointed out, however, that NAACP and CORE may cooperate with the Muslims in specific cases such as the complaints involving Rochester police action against the sect.

BU 44-193

On March 7, 1963, this matter was discussed by SA [redacted] with the Honorable JOHN T. CURTIN, United States Attorney, Western District of New York, Buffalo, who stated since neither the alleged subjects nor the alleged victims could be interviewed and since the alleged victims are under indictment by the Monroe County Grand Jury with trial on the charges imminent, it does not appear that any action is merited at this time.

:dbl

91*

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104-01

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/7/63

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (44-193) (C)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
ET AL, Rochester, New York, Police Department; [redacted] ET AL, -
VICTIMS
CR

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/15/86 BY [illegible]

Re Bureau airtel to Buffalo dated 2/28/63.

Enclosed are two copies of the report of SA [redacted] dated 3/7/63 at Buffalo, and the original and one (1) copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information obtained [redacted] and two exhibits which are enclosures to the above report.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential" since information [redacted]

b7D

2 - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)
1 - Buffalo
[redacted] Jmb
(3)

b7C

ENCLOSURE

REC-91 44-21493-10

EX-117

MAR 22 1963

FBI

STAT SECRET

cc LHM
CPD dtd 03/13/63
[redacted]

b7C

cc CR Unit

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

400 U. S. Court House
Buffalo 2, New York
March 9, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] ROCHESTER, N.Y.,
POLICE DEPARTMENT: [redacted]

b7C

VICTIMS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/25/86 BY [illegible]

b7D [redacted] stated that all of the below listed individuals are, as of this time, members of Muhammad's Mosque #23, with the exceptions of [redacted] which individuals were described by b7C [redacted] as being individuals who are in the process of becoming members of Muhammad's Mosque #23.

APPROPRIATE OFFICES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY LETTER SLIP(S) OF [redacted] DATED 5/22/63

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DECLASSIFIED BY [illegible]

Group 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

[redacted] ET AL, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, POLICE DEPARTMENT; [redacted] ET AL - VICTIMS

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] that a meeting of the Fruit of Islam, Muhammad's Mosque #23, 292 Glenwood Avenue, on the night of March 4, 1963 [redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] advised that at a regular meeting of Muhammad's Mosque #23, this date, [redacted]

[redacted]AL

[redacted] ET AL, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, POLICE DEPARTMENT; [redacted] ET AL - VICTIMS

[redacted] the violation of Civil Rights at Rochester, New York, was being investigated by the Attorney General at Buffalo.

[redacted] January 8, 1963, that a meeting of the Fruit of Islam of Muhammad's Mosque No. 23, Nation of Islam, held Monday night, January 7, 1963, at the Buffalo Headquarters of this Mosque, 292 Glenwood Avenue, Buffalo, [redacted] that at a meeting of a group of followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, National U. S. leader of the Nation of Islam, held at Buddy's Casino, North Street, Rochester, New York, January 6, 1963, police officers of the Rochester Police Department attempted to enter this "religious" meeting.

[redacted] identified [redacted] as being Captain of Muhammad's Mosque No. 23, formerly known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 23.

A characterization of Muhammad's Mosque No. 23, formerly known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 23, is attached.

In addition, characterizations of Nation of Islam and Fruit of Islam are attached hereto.

[redacted] these officers claimed they were attempting to investigate an anonymous telephone call to the effect that some unknown individual was present at Buddy's

[redacted]
ET AL, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, POLICE DEPARTMENT; [redacted] ET AL - VICTIMS

Casino displaying some type of firearm. [redacted] the police gained entrance to the Rochester meeting place [redacted]

[redacted] that at a meeting of followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD held at Buddy's Casino, North Street, Rochester, New York, the evening of January 13, 1963, this meeting was interrupted by representatives of the Rochester, New York, Fire Department.

[redacted] the Rochester Fire Department representatives stated that they were answering an alarm which reported a fire in the building in which Buddy's Casino is located. At this time [redacted] denied access to the building by members of the Rochester Fire Department. Efforts on the part of the Rochester Fire Department to enter the Muslim meeting were denied, and following a tour of Buddy's Casino by [redacted] and the owner of the property of Buddy's Casino, the Rochester Fire Department departed.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 2, 1962, a second source advised: ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI). Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI. In mid 1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teaching and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

CONFIDENTIAL

On May 2, 1962, a third source advised: MUHAMMAD had, early in July 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

FRUIT OF ISLAM (FOI)

On May 2, 1962, a source advised that Fruit of Islam (FOI) is a group within the Nation of Islam (NOI) composed of male members of the NOI. The purpose of the FOI is to protect officials and property of the NOI, assure compliance of members with NOI teachings and to prepare for the "War of Armageddon." Members of the FOI are required to participate in military drill and are afforded the opportunity to engage in judo training. The FOI is governed by a military system wherein the members are controlled by general orders similar to those issued by regular military organizations.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 23, Also known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 23

Sources advised in early July 1958, that as of that time Muhammad's Temple of Islam in Buffalo, New York, was assigned Number 23, and was affiliated with the Nation of Islam under the leadership of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

On June 15, 1960, a source advised that the aims and purposes of Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 was the unification of the black race through the establishment of an independent black nation economically independent of the white race.

Sources advised in May 1961, that the aims and purposes of Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 remained the same as of that time.

In May 1961, the sources advised that Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 continued to be an affiliate of the Nation of Islam led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The same source advised in March 1962, that the official name Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 was changed in February 1962 to Muhammad's Mosque No. 23.

CONFIDENTIAL

FD-36 (Rev. 12-12-56)

FBI

Date: 3/12/63

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

b7C [redacted] Etal

CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/6/86 BY SP-6 bjs/tcy

Remyairtel 3/11/63.

Enclosed are two copies of an article which appeared in the 3/9/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester, N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly furnished.

2 ENCLOSURE

(3) Bureau (Encl. 2) (AM)
1 - Buffalo
b7C [redacted] gpp
(4)

C. C. With

1cc of news articles to FBI
6-95-A-3114/63
b7C [redacted] 1 cpies
1cc CR Unit

REC-55 44-21493-11

10 MAR 15 1963

b7C [redacted]

F-14

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

62 MAR 20 1963

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Meet in Memorial — Groups Urge Council

Civil Rights groups agreed last night to call on City Council to move its meeting Tuesday night to the War Memorial to accommodate a mass turnout in support of a law that would establish a Citizens' Review Board.

More than 100 persons at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church heard plans for the turnout outlined and passed a resolution supporting a review board.

The resolution commended the Democratic city administration, but recommended some changes in the ordinance proposed by City Manager Porter W. Homer. The most significant changes would permit the board to probe past allegations of police brutality or any other civil rights violation, and bar city or county officeholders from serving on the board.

Lone Dissenter

The resolution passed with only one dissenting vote, which came from a member of the audience who said the resolution wasn't strong enough.

The meeting was sponsored by the Integrated Non-Violence Committee which conducted negotiations with Homer leading to the review board proposal. Representatives of several Civil Rights groups and churches attended.

Hannah Storrs, president of the Congress of Racial Equality, said other organizations would be asked to sign the resolution. She added that a house-to-house drive is being conducted to collect signatures on petitions on behalf of the review board proposal.

Miss Storrs rapped opposition of policemen to the board, commenting, "If you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear."

Rev. G. Kenneth Tuttle, representing the Rochester Area Council of Churches, said clergymen have been asked by the Council to appear Tuesday in support of a board.

Some speakers warned against Negroes isolating themselves from the community as a whole or falling prey to irresponsible leadership, an apparent reference to the Black Muslim movement.

Apparently, no Black Muslims attended the meeting, but four well-dressed young men hawked copies of the newspaper published by the separatist sect in front of the church after the meeting.

Opponents Answered

The resolution, although commending the city administration generally, criticized it for failing to stress the "positive aspects" of the board through news media.

Opponents of a board were asked to consider:

——"The creation of this board will give immediate relief from the current tensions in the community."

——"This board will not be a court of law and will have no disciplinary power over any policeman. It will be empowered only to make recommendations.

——"Policemen acting within accepted police practices have nothing to fear from the review board. The review board will, in effect, reaffirm any policeman unjustly charged."

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/27/92 BY [illegible]

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 17

Democrat & Chronicl
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/9/63
Edition: Metropolitan
Author:
Editor: C.E.Carpenter
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Buffalo

44-2143-11

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-50)

FBI

Date: 3/11/63

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

[redacted] Etal

CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/15/86 BY Sp4 Gakley

Remyairtel 3/1/63, captioned "UNSUBS; UNKNOWN VICTIMS; MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS."

Enclosed are two copies of an article which appeared in the 3/7/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester, N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly furnished.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (AM)
1 - Buffalo
[redacted] gpp
(4)

ENCLOSURE

EX-114

1 cc of news article t&CRD
6-95-A-3114163
[redacted] 1 cpy

REC-53 44-21493-12

MAR 13 1963

[redacted]

Approved: _____ Sent _____
Special Agent in Charge

62 MAR 20 1963

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Racial Tension Causes Aired By 3 Panelists

Rochester, an unlikely city to have racial disturbances, has reached its recent crisis primarily because of a "lack of alert, aroused understanding of the deepening crisis facing all Northern cities," according to a Colgate Rochester Divinity School professor.

Dr. Prentiss L. Pemberton, professor of Christian social ethics and sociology of religion, said, "My thesis is that we face an increasing breakdown of communication between the white and non-white in Northern cities. This leads to a deepening mood of suspicion which is shattering our traditional Northern ways of handling racial problems, through patient negotiation . . ."

Dr. Pemberton and two others discussed basic forces underlying recent racial tensions here at a public meeting in the divinity school. About 75 persons attended. The other speakers were Sidney J. Lindenberg, executive director of the Baden Street Settlement, and Dr. Walter Cooper, research chemist at Eastman Kodak Co. and chairman of the community affairs committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Board Said "Concrete Step"

In answer to a question, Pemberton termed the proposed Advisory Citizen's Review Board "the most concrete step we can take" to create new channels of communication.

Lindenberg called the proposed board "water to put out the fire," but called for long-term, creative attention to community tensions, "not just police tensions."

In his talk Lindenberg described evidences of tensions that settlement house workers have observed, and criticized "an awful lot of people (who) talk about an area (such as Baden-Ormond) without much knowledge of it."

The Negro community is being motivated to draw together by "the same things that drew the Jewish group together at the time of Hitler —fear, and hopelessness," Lindenberg said.

Brutality 'Symptom'

He praised city officials for trying to correct the situation, but called for a wider understanding among the average citizens of the community. He called police brutality a symptom rather than a basic cause of racial unrest and urged attention to housing, jobs, education and relationships of minority groups.

"If we don't do something, groups like the Black Muslims are going to slide in and take control," he added.

Dr. Cooper said criticism of liberal groups by so-called "freedom now" Negro leaders has arisen because "liberals see the Negro as a symbol . . . but not as a man.

"The black American cannot be assimilated until the majority group is willing to accept the humanity of the black man."

He said there is more segregation in Northern cities now than there was 20 years ago and that "the plight of the Negro in urban Northern communities is like backward countries."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/15/96 BY SP6 Bag/key

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 18

Democrat & Chronicl
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/7/63
Edition: Metropolitan
Author:
Editor: C.E.Carpenter
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Buffalo

41- 21493 - 12

ENCLOSURE

(Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 3/14/63

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

[redacted] Etal

CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/15/86 BY SP6 byfkey

Remyairtel 3/11/63.

Enclosed are two copies of an article appearing in the 3/13/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester, N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly furnished.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (AM)
1 - Buffalo
[redacted]:gpp
(4)

ENCLOSURE

C.C. Wick

REC- 57 44-21493-13

EX-118

6 MAR 15 1963

1cc CRD news article 3-18-63

[redacted]

[redacted]

54 MAR 22 1963

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Rochester Image

Two-Faced?

Angry Voices Raised By Opposing Groups

By WILLIAM VOGLER

Rochester, like the mythological Narcissus, looked at its reflected image and generally liked what it saw.

Rochester, said the Rochesterian, was a nice community to raise children in. It had a high-employment, skilled-worker economy. Generally speaking, its politics were clean—certainly there was no local equivalent of Frank Hague or James Curley. And it was "culture" conscious—witness the Eastman School of Music, the Civic Music Association, the Memorial Art Gallery.

But Narcissus, trapped by his own vanity and tricked by pagan gods, had been fascinated by an illusion. So, in a sense, had Rochester's "image" been illusory. And, as illusions will, Rochester's broke down recently.

The Flower City, never shy about setting up a committee for holding a meeting, suddenly found itself caught in an angry swirl of meetings, sit-ins and debates that produced a blizzard of statements on "current racial tensions."

Babble of Voices

A babble of voices rose in an uneven chorus: "Police brutality," some said; "Force necessary to affect arrest," others replied. "Discrimination," some said. "Irresponsible minorities," came the reply.

One thing was certain. The Rochester image wasn't what it used to be. But then the image of the body politic as a unified entity is at best a convenient fiction. People have a tendency now and then to break ranks.

If it's a healthy body politic, the ranks will re-form after a while and march, though not everyone will be in step, in a different direction. Rochester is now searching itself to determine what that direction will be.

Well, what about it? Is there a crisis, or is it just another ripple in the pond?

Attempt to Answer

What follows is an attempt to answer that question in terms of the feelings in the non-white community, as indicated in meetings, through statements and through conversations with some of those directly involved in recent events.

While the sentiments of both the white and non-white communities are germane to the present situation, more emphasis has been focused here on feelings in the city's two predominantly non-white areas, probable locale of any explosion that may occur.

Is the potential for a blow up exaggerated? Not according to Mrs. Constance Mitchell, Third Ward Democratic supervisor, who said recently:

"It would take only a minor incident to start a race riot . . . This is not something that started with A.C. White."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 6

Democrat & Chronicle
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/13/63
Edition: Sun Rise
Author: William Vogl
Editor: C.E.Carpente
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Buffa

ALL INFOR[illegible]TION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [illegible]CLASSIFIED
DATE 1/15/86 BY [illegible]

ENCLOSURE
44 - 21493-13

Indications Cited

These were some of the indications, cited by Mrs. Mitchell and others, that the present mood of friction and unrest had been building for some time.

——A 204 per cent increase in this city's Negro population between 1950 and 1960, that saw the Negro community in the city increase from 7,845 in 1950 to 24,228 in 1960.

——The Baden-Ormond urban renewal project that led to the relocation of many people into already crowded areas on the fringe of Baden-Ormond and in the 3rd Ward.

——A meeting between city officials and representatives of the Negro community in August 1961. One of the top points on the agenda was the use of police dogs in minority group areas.

——A man living in the 3rd Ward, speaking of everyday frustrations, commented over a cup of coffee:

"We can't make a living. We can't go to certain places unless we want to risk direct or implied discourtesies. And we can't even break the law and get the same treatment that other people do."

——Rabbi Allan Levine of Temple Emanu-El, and one of several key figures in the current swirl of events, had this to say about people's awareness of their community:

"Many people in Rochester live utterly isolated from the problems of the central city therefore, when complaints of injustice arise, they dismiss them as utterly baseless."

That the blinders have been discarded by at least part of the community is evidenced by recent events.

For one thing, a group of more than 100 clergymen—interracial and interfaith—from many Monroe County communities, believe the current situation is a crisis involving the total community and they have demonstrated a high degree of unanimity in suggesting possible solutions, immediate and long-range, to the present condition.

High-Level Meetings

Some of the clergymen also participated in high-level meetings with city officials dealing with allegations of police abuse of authority. Out of those meetings emerged the promise by the city to consider proposals for an independent agency to review complaints of alleged unnecessary and excessive use of force by police. The city administration has drawn up an ordinance for City Council consideration to accomplish this purpose.

The clergy group can be more than matched in size by laymen, acting through organizations or as individuals, who have a similar concern with the current situation.

William Vogler, the author of this analysis of Rochester's racial relations, has covered this area of news for the D&C for three years. A veteran newsman, Vogler came to Rochester in 1960 from Trenton, N.J., where he was a reporter for United Press International.

But back to the crisis, that mishmash of fact, rumor and, above all else, feelings.

The impression gained from attending scores of meetings, and from discussions with dozens of people familiar with the situation is that the feeling exists that unequal law enforcement is meted out to non-whites and that this could be the spark that could touch off an explosion.

That feelings concerning alleged unequal law enforcement are not isolated from other problems such as housing and employment will become evident later.

Stress Point

One thing cannot be stressed too strongly, even though it has been said again and again: The Police Bureau as a whole is not being indicted. Those pointing the finger, point it at a few policemen, whose names, according to the accusers, crop up repeatedly in incidents of alleged harassment or unjustified use of force.

People from the Third and Seventh Wards, refuting the promide that "a cop is a cop" cited policemen who have won the confidence of people in those areas.

These policemen, according to the Third and Seventh Warders, have been able to walk into the midst of an excited crowd in Joseph Avenue, ask "what's it all about" and with a few words and/or actions take the heat out of the situation.

For the moment, that is. Memories of A. C. White, Rufus Fairwell and the arrest of 11 men following a clash with Rufus Fairwell and the arrest of Rufus Fairwell and the arrest of 15 men following a clash with police at a meeting of the Black Muslinms could provide the potential for the possible riot envisioned by Mrs. Mitchell and other observers.

Outstanding Issues

Two things stand out in discussions of these cases. One is a strong feeling of identification among Negroes with White, Fairwell and the 15 men. The other, especially strong in the Fairwell case, is a sense of bewilderment and sometimes anger over the explanations of the three cases which have been made public.

Fairwell, a 28-year-old service station attendant, was arrested last August on charges of assaulting two policemen who, Fairwell charged, assaulted him. A grand jury subsequently cleared Fairwell and the two officers.

Fairwell has filed a $125,000 suit against the city for "damages for personal injuries and indignities" suffered because of what he described as the negligence and wilfull misconduct of the city and its employes.

White, 48, of 383 Joseph Ave., is facing County and City Court trials on charges of driving while intoxicated, resisting arrest, third degree assault, driving without an operator's license and without proper registration in connection with his arrest Jan. 26.

Four patrolmen involved in his arrest were suspended pending the outcome of a Police Bureau investigation of the White arrest, in which White suffered injuries that required hospitalization. The policemen were later reinstated with reprimands.

White later filed and then withdrew charges against three of the four policemen involved in his arrest. According to his attorney, White withdrew the charges to concentrate on his upcoming trials.

Muslim Meeting

Those arrested in connection with the Jan. 6 scuffle with the police at the Black Muslim meeting on Jan. 6 face trial on charges of riot and third degree assault. Police said they went to the meeting to investigate an anonymous report that a man with a gun was at the meeting place.

Malcolm X, a national leader of the Muslims, later protested that police had tried to force their way into a religious meeting.

These matters have previously been reported, but since all three cases are now before the courts this is not the place to argue the merits of the cases. However, one can select a few from many available illustrations to indicate the feelings of the Negro community about the cases.

The weekend that began with the evening of Feb. 8 saw the suspension of the four officers in the White case and the arrest of 13 men on charges stemming from the Jan. 6 clash with police at the site of the Muslim meeting. Two other defendants involved in that incident were arrested earlier, and all 15 are free in bail.

Dr. Walter Cooper, chairman of the community affairs committee of the Rochester Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recalled that he was one of several people who circulated in the city's two predominantly Negro areas that weekend.

"What we tried to do that weekend was to visit bars and barbershops and try to bring some sanity to people who had become more than emotionally involved," Dr. Cooper said.

'Going to Fight Back'

Typical of the comments he heard were: "I've had enough. If I get hit, I'm going to fight back."

The tour left the impression, according to Dr. Cooper, that "this was not just idle talk."

At a Feb. 18 meeting called by integration groups to protest alleged police abuses of Negroes, several things significant to the entire community emerged.

The meeting, which was called on very short notice, drew an audience of about 600, all Negro except for a sprinkling of whites. The issue that attracted them was alleged misuse of authority by police. Most were people who almost never attend regular meetings held by traditional protest groups.

Malcom X, although not a scheduled speaker, talked during the question period and was received enthusiastically.

Furthermore, integration groups, while rejecting the separatism of the Muslims, indicated at the meeting and since then that they would stand by the Muslims to help defend the civil rights of Rochester Negroes.

Feeling Persists

While many of the actions of the integration groups in the current situation can be interpreted as moves to counter the local impact of the Muslims, on the issue of alleged abuse of authority by police the feeling persists that, as a speaker at the Feb. 18 meeting said: "We are black folks first."

In Rochester, the significance of the Feb. 28 meeting with those close to the situation, two different assessments were heard. Accordingly to one, any leader of national stature with a reputation for plain talk would have received a favorable response.

Challenging this, others said Malcolm X has a stronger appeal to the Negro masses than some other Negro leaders. Malcolm X, these people asserted, can get people to identify more easily with him because "he says what the masses of Negroes want to hear."

The strength of the Muslim movement is not something other Muslim leaders care to discuss. Locally, estimates range from about 25 to about 200. Nationally, C. Eric Lincoln, author of "The Black Muslims in America," wrote "in recent years their membership has spiraled to at least 100,000—some estimates would triple that figure—with more than 50 temples in major cities from Boston and Miami to San Diego."

Less Significant

However, those conversant with the movement state that numerical strength is less significant than the number of people who, while declining to join the Muslims, nevertheless, share many of the criticisms of the American scene made by the Muslims.

This poses a challenge for believers in integration and a paradox for the Muslims. The recent coalescing of integration forces demonstrates that these groups have accepted the challenge.

In addition to a closer degree of cooperation recently evidenced between traditional protest groups such as the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality, the recent past has seen the organization of new groups such as the United Action Committee for Rufus Fairwell, the Integrated Non-Violent Committee (the group that negotiated with city officials on cases of alleged police brutality) a group which staged sit-ins at police headquarters, known simply as the supporters of the non-violent committee and the organization of more than 100 clergymen of all major faiths.

Two things should be noted about the new groups, according to those close to them. For one thing there is the aspect of interlocking membership; members of the NAACP and/or CORE and other established groups also belonged to the Fairwell Committee and the non-violent group.

A distinction also is made between NAACP, for example, which is termed a permanent group with the broad goal of equal justice, and the Fairwell group, which is seen as a committee set up for a specific limited purpose.

Newer Groups

Secondly, the newer groups are causing people, who though previously intellectually committed, to speak out and take an active part in the struggle.

Discussing the future of the Muslim movement, Lincoln saw the Muslims caught in a dilemma: whether to retain their present militant, anti-white, anti-Christian pose or modify it to win followers now repulsed by these Muslim themes.

At their Feb. 26 Chicago national convention, the Muslims made a bid for cooperation with traditional protest groups. National leaders of the NAACP and CORE reiterated their distaste for Muslim separatism, but indicated the possibility a limited degree of cooperation on such issues as police brutality.

Not Alone

However, the police issue does not stand alone. Those with an intimate knowledge of the Negro community assess the issue as a "symbolic" one. It is related, they reason, in a symbolic way to deep feelings of frustration about discrimination in housing, employment and other areas. Further, these people assert, it is tied to the "much larger question of whether justice is possible in Rochester or whether the promises to integrate are really no more than token concessions to appease the Negro without satisfying basic and legitimate grievances."

The hope that the achievement of justice, in the larger sense, is still possible is testified to by the many groups and individuals now seeking to steer Rochester on a different course.

DIRECTOR, FBI (25-339971) 6/7/63

SAC, BUFFALO (105-2767)(P)

NATION OF ISLAM
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
IS - NOI
(00 - Buffalo)

Re Buffalo airtel to Bureau, 2/25/63, with letterhead memorandum (LHM); and Buffalo letter (with LHM) to Bureau, 2/20/63.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of self-explanatory LHM. An informational copy was furnished Chicago and New York in view of previous correspondence to those offices regarding this matter.

Buffalo will follow the local trial in Rochester, New York; and furnish pertinent facts developed to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/15/86 BY Pabjaffey

5 - Bureau (Encs. 8)(RM)
(1 - , RACIAL MATTERS)
(1 - , CIVIL RIGHTS)
1 - Chicago (100-35635)(Info)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - New York (Info)(Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - Buffalo
(1 - 105-368)
[redacted]are
(9)

ENCLOSURE

44-21493
NOT RECORDED
145 JUN 17 1963

JUN 20 1963

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Buffalo, New York
June 7, 1963

NATION OF ISLAM
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

b7D [redacted] Rochester, New York, on June 5, 1963, advised that the assault trial regarding the fifteen Nation of Islam members had been tried in Monroe County Court in Rochester, before acting Monroe County Judge GERALD S. HEWITT, beginning May 14, 1963, and ending May 21, 1963, with a deadlocked jury. Retrial was tentatively set for late in June, 1963; and the defendents were continued on bail.

Those being tried had previously been indicted by a Monroe County Grand Jury for assaulting two Rochester Police Officers, who on January 6, 1963, had answered a "trouble call" at 302 North Street, while a Nation of Islam meeting was in progress.

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is included in the appendix hereto.

According to [redacted] Monroe County Judge HARRY L. ROSENTHAL initially assigned [redacted] and [redacted] as defense counsel for all defendents. Other lawyers assigned later by the court were:

b7C [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1/15/86 BY SP6 Lyn/tag

b7D [redacted] said that all but one of the Nation of Islam members arrested February 8, 1963, had been released February 15, 1963 on $500.00 bail each, which money was provided by the National Leader, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, of Chicago, Illinois.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

67C

The remaining defendent, [redacted] of Buffalo, New York, was turned over to the Buffalo, New York, Police Department, by the Monroe County Court on an outstanding warrant held by the Buffalo Police Department.

The February 15, 1963 Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, citywide daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "One Hundred March in Muslim Protest," which revealed that "more than one hundred" Muslims led by MALCOLM X, a national leader of the Nation of Islam, on February 14, 1963, marched around Times Square in New York in silent orderly protest against the Rochester, New York, arrests of the fifteen Nation of Islam members.

APPENDIX

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In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1962, a third source advised: MUHAMMAD had, early in July 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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UPI-33
(MUSLIMS)
NEW YORK--THREE NEGROES WERE INDICTED YESTERDAY BY A GRAND JURY FOR THE SLAYING OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X AND A FOURTH, MALCOLM'S BODYGUARD, FOR SHOOTING AND WOUNDING ONE OF THE ALLEGED ASSASSINS.
NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30--WHO HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY POLICE AS BLACK MUSLIM "ENFORCES"--AND TALMADGE HAYER, ALIAS THOMAS HAGEN, 22, WERE CHARGED WITH FIRST DEGREE MURDER FOR ALLEGEDLY KILLING MALCOM X. LITTLE
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Minneapolis, Bay Area Hold Memorial Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X was held here last night, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Mike Garza reviewed the development of Malcolm X into one of the world's outstanding revolutionary leaders. The meeting was well attended in spite of the worst snowstorm of the year.

At the end of the meeting, the audience contributed more than $40 to Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, and sent her a message of sympathy.

SAN FRANCISCO — The Militant Labor Forum held a memorial meeting for Malcolm X here March 5. A deeply moved audience of about 70 heard a tape-recording of a speech Malcolm X gave at the New York Militant Labor Forum last January.

At the conclusion of the tape, Asher Harer, chairman of the meeting, called for a minute of silence and the people present stood to honor the memory of Malcolm X. Clyde Carter and Aaron Chapman of the Freedom Now Party paid special tribute to Malcolm X. LITTLE

Because of the interest in this program, the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum decided to play other tapes of Malcolm X the following two Friday evenings.

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The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
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The Worker
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People's World

Date March 15, 1965
THE MILITANT
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3 Indicted Slaying of Malcolm X

NEW YORK, March 11 (UPI) — A New York county grand jury yesterday indicted three men of first-degree murder charges in the Feb. 21 assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Two of those indicted — Norman 8X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30 — have been described by police as "enforcers" for the Black Muslim movement, which ousted Malcolm before he set up his own organization.

The third person named in the indictment was Talmadge Hayer, Alias Thomas Hagen, 22. Mr. Hayer was wounded at the assassination scene, the the Audubon ballroom in Upper Manhattan, and police attributed the shooting to one of Malcolm's bodyguards, Reuben Francis. The bodyguard has been charged with felonious assault.

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MALCOLM

By George Breitman

[The second of two installments is the text of a speech delivered to the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit on March 5, 1965.]

Next is the question of race. Here Malcolm made a very pronounced change in his thinking. Partly through the influence of Islam, a religion which views and treats all races alike, and partly through his contact with revolutionaries in many countries, he threw overboard the whole Black Muslim mythology about superior and inferior races and its doctrine about inherent evil and degeneracy in a white skin.

Repudiating racism in all forms, he resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race. Deeds, not words; and he was pretty shrewd about distinguishing between the two, as in the case of white liberals (or black liberals, for that matter). He developed an historical approach to racism. He knew American whites had been conditioned, miseducated and infected on race worse than most European whites, for example, and he remained more on guard with Americans. He distinguished in similar way between the older and younger white generations in America.

When Young Socialist Alliance leaders interviewed him and asked what he considered to be the cause of race prejudice, he didn't give anything resembling the Black Muslim position. "Ignorance and greed," he replied. A scientific socialist of any race might turn the three words around, saying "Greed and ignorance," and might expand on the theme at greater length, but would not say anything essentially different. "You can't have capitalism without racism," he said on an earlier occasion.

Malcolm had been abroad before his break with Muhammad, but only briefly, carrying out assignments for Muhammad, not on his own. But after the break in 1964 he traveled to and through Africa and the Mideast twice, spending almost half of his remaining life abroad — studying, searching, discussing, learning, seeking help and giving it. And when he returned he was not just a sympathizer of the colonial revolution, but a staunch internationalist, on the side of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their oppressors and exploiters, whose central fountainhead he recognized to be U.S. imperialism, the dominant force in what he called the international power structure. No one in the world denounced the U.S. role in the Congo more forcefully and effectively.

One purpose of his trips was, of course, to mobilize African support behind the project to put the U.S. government on trial in the United Nations for the continued oppression of American Negroes, with which he had limited success. But the State Department credited him, or rather blamed him, for a good part of the strong stand against U.S. imperialism taken by African nations in the UN at the time of the latest atrocities in the Congo. As he knew, the CIA and similar agencies take an interest in what the State Department doesn't like. Those who heard him in Detroit the week before his murder knew about his hope to unite the many millions of the oppressed in Latin America and the Caribbean together with their Afro-American brothers and sisters against their common exploiter.

So he was simultaneously broadening his horizons and serving in on American imperialism — this product of the segregated, locked-in ghetto who broke through and over the walls of national boundary and race to become an internationalist; this internationalist who admired John Killens' definition of a patriot: "Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

In the area of political action Malcolm was also far ahead of the Black Muslims. That didn't take much doing, since they abstain from politics. He favored Negroes organizing politically and running and electing their own candidates, and driving out of office black stooges of the major parties. He participated in a Harlem conference on independent political action two months before his death.

But his position on politics was largely general. He said he found some good in what the Freedom Now Party was doing, and while he was in Africa last summer he briefly gave consideration to an offer that he run on the Michigan FNP ticket for the U.S. Senate; he decided instead to remain in Africa longer. However, he never affiliated with the FNP, for reasons not discussed publicly; maybe he thought the FNP was premature or launched without sufficient groundwork on too narrow a basis.

But while his thinking on politics was still in a process of development, and uncompleted, there was nothing general or tentative about his attitude to the capitalist parties and the two-party system. To him they were both enemies of the Negro people, currently as well as historically, and neither merited an iota of support from Negroes. He had nothing but contempt for the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964.

While he did not endorse Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, he did attack both of DeBerry's major opponents; and in his own way made it easier for DeBerry to get a hearing from Harlem audiences, thus indicating a measure of sympathy. He said he would be willing under certain conditions to consider running as an independent candidate for mayor of New York against the Democratic and Republican candidates in 1965. In terms of the political spectrum he stood on the radical side, although he had not reached strong conclusions about how to organize independent black political power.

The speech Malcolm had started to make when he was shot down was to deal with the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and of the militant black movement generally. We know that he had been thinking about the question of "alliances," the question of the independent Negro movement's relations with other forces in the country, and that he had circulated among other OAAU leaders literature dealing with some aspects of this subject.

Even if we did not know that, it would be logical to assume that he would touch on this question, because an organization defines itself and clarifies its own program and perspectives without simultaneously clarifying its relations to its own aim and its friends, present or potential. How we may never know where his thinking had led him on this point, and can only speculate. But even speculation can be oriented by some definite facts.

At his first press conference last March, Malcolm had this to say on the question of alliances:

Basis for Unity

"Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

This, as I pointed out at that time, is not the assessment of a man claiming that black and white working-class solidarity is unnecessary, or that it is impossible. On the contrary, it is the statement of a man explaining one of the conditions through which workers' solidarity may be achieved on a broad and durable basis. And if I may quote myself for one more sentence, I noted:

"Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree [with Malcolm] that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests cannot be subordinated or sold out by the other partner or partners in any alliance."

The subject must have come up often during his subsequent travels abroad, where his ideas were strongly influenced during his last year. But he stuck to his position. When he spoke at a Militant Labor Forum panel in New York last May, he said:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is the Negroes have to be in unity first."

So far as I have been able to learn, that remained Malcolm's position to the end. He was not opposed to alliances with other forces, including labor, provided they were the right kinds of alliances and provided, the Negro part of the alliance was independently organized, so that it could guard against betrayal by being able to pull out of any alliance that went bad.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that Malcolm would have favored an independent mass

X: THE MAN

black movement making alliances with a radicalized mass labor movement when conditions produced two such components for an alliance, I have no doubt about it because he was willing, even now, in the absence of two such mass movements, to collaborate with radical whites under certain conditions. A man willing to collaborate with numerically weak radical forces, as I will try to show Malcolm was, would have to be out of his mind not to collaborate with mass radical forces. And whatever the *N.Y. Times* and *Muhammad Speaks* say, Malcolm was not out of his mind.

Next let us consider briefly Malcolm's attitudes to capitalism and socialism. In the *Young Socialist* interview he stated:

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture . . . and can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less and less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

Marxists might question whether capitalism will collapse, or have to be collapsed, but who can question that in his last months Malcolm was taking an unequivocally anti-capitalist position?

Malcolm did not learn about socialism by reading Marx, but he managed to learn about it anyway. He learned about it from the colonial revolution, especially its pro-socialist contingent. He had discussions with Castro and Che Guevara and Algerian socialists and socialists in Ghana, Guinea, Zanzibar, and elsewhere, including the United States. When he was asked last May at the Militant Labor Forum what kind of political system he wanted, he said:

"I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning towards socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

DeBerry's View

Clifton DeBerry was sitting on the same platform, and took the floor to comment on when and where flexibility was correct: in tactics, yes, but not in relation to the principle that the capitalist system and capitalist parties are enemies of freedom, justice and equality. To which Malcolm replied: "And that's the most intelligent answer I've ever heard on that question."

So I think it fair to say that the legacy of Malcolm is not only plainly anti-capitalist but also pro-socialist. I do not say he was a Marxist — he wasn't — and we can only guess if in his further evolution he would have become one, as Castro did in his later development. But that clearly can be reckoned as a possibility.

A few words about Malcolm's relations with the revolutionary socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

The record is plain about our attitude to Malcolm. We regarded him as one of the most gifted and important leaders of the struggle



GREETINGS. Malcolm X (left) and Clifton DeBerry exchange greetings at opening of Militant Labor Forum symposium last May on police-inspired Harlem "hate-gang" hoax. In center is Quentin Hand of Harlem Action Group.

while he was still a Black Muslim. When he started his own movement, we called it a momentous development that might turn the struggle onto the road to victory, and publicly pledged our aid in the job he was undertaking. For this we got abuse and condemnation from so-called radicals and liberals; our white members were called "white black nationalists" and other names because we supported Malcolm's movement. All this was long before he had said a single word favorable to socialism, and when the image of him in most so-called radical minds was of a man who would rather die than have anything to do with whites, even revolutionary whites.

On the other side was Malcolm's attitude to us. As a Black Muslim he used to buy *The Militant* when it was sold outside his rallies. He later said that even then he urged Negroes to read it. Less than a month after his break with Muhammad, he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, and publicly praised *The Militant* for telling the truth and wished it success. He spoke for the Militant Labor Forum another two times during the next nine months, after each of his trips abroad. He wasn't even scheduled to speak the second time: His secretary, James Shabazz, was to be part of a panel, but Malcolm phoned and asked if he would be acceptable in James Shabazz's place; and of course he was.

At most of the OAAU rallies he would put in a plug for *The Militant*, without any solicitation on our part. He smoothed the way for it to be sold at Harlem stands and shops. In January, when he gave his interview to the *Young Socialist*, he discussed with the YSA leaders the probability of his making a tour of the nation's campuses in collaboration with the YSA later this year. He would almost surely have spoken here at Debs Hall for the Friday Night Socialist Forum while making that tour. Black SWP and YSA members were welcome to join his organization; whites associated with *The Militant* were welcome to attend OAAU rallies.

So our relations were friendly and mutually helpful. On our part, because we believed that he and we were on the same side in the struggle, had the same enemies and were traveling in the same direction. In our 1963 convention resolution, the Socialist Workers Party had stated that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded closer together in thought and action." We predicted that would happen, and so far as Malcolm and we were concerned, it was beginning to happen.

On his part, I think collaboration was taking place because he felt that we, unlike the liberals, unlike the Communist Party, unlike the Socialist Party, unlike most white radicals, did not want to subordinate his movement or the Negro struggle generally to the government, to the Democratic Party, to the American labor bureaucrats, to the privileged bureaucrats in non-capitalist countries, or to anyone else; and that we did and do want the Negro movement to attain full independence of program and action and to develop uninterruptedly in an uncompromisingly militant direction along the lines that best suit its needs.

Once Malcolm was convinced of that, and of our sincerity, as evidenced by our readiness to stick by our principles, however unpopular they might be, there was no bar to our collaboration. I want to stress that he would have taken this attitude to any militant group, even non-socialist, provided it was, in its own way, independent of the government and opposed to racism.

Let us now conclude this discussion of Malcolm's ideas during the last year of his life by examining his positions on black nationalism and separatism. This is important because some political opponents of Malcolm already are circulating distorted stories about him, alleging that he was on the verge of quitting his movement, going over to his opponents, etc. And important also because there may be some ambiguity about his relation to black nationalism as a result of a statement in his interview in the current issue of *Young Socialist*.

Black nationalism and separatism are not the same thing, though unfortunately they are often confused. Separatism is a tendency favoring the withdrawal of Negroes into a separate black nation, either in America or in Africa. Black nationalism is a tendency for Negroes to unite as a group, as a people, in organizations that are Negro-led and Negro-controlled, and sometimes all-black, in order to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism, as it now exists, does not imply any position on the question of a separate nation in the future, for or against. So you can be a black nationalist without being a separatist, although all separatists are black nationalists.

You will find a much better and longer analysis of this greatly misunderstood distinction in the Socialist Workers Party's 1963 convention resolution, *Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, Pioneer Publishers.

AND HIS IDEAS

When Malcolm was a Black Muslim, he was of course a separatist. At his first press conference after leaving the Black Muslims last March, he said he was out to build a black nationalist movement, and the major stress was on black nationalism. But he also had a few words to say about separatism. He said he still thought separation was "the best solution"; previously he would have said the only solution. "But," he continued, "separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs *right now*." (His emphasis.)

At the time I took this to be a declaration of his intention to build a black nationalist movement that would attempt to unite the Negro people in a fight for immediate needs, while at the same time continuing to hold up separation as a nation as an ultimate objective, and to make propaganda for it accordingly. But I was obviously wrong, because after that statement last March I cannot find any place where Malcolm advocated a separate nation. And on May 21, a few hours after returning from his first trip to Africa, when he was asked at a press conference if he thought Negroes should return to Africa, he said he thought they should stay and fight in the United States for what is rightfully theirs.

Perhaps he thought a separate nation, while desirable, was so far off there was no use talking about it. Perhaps he thought it was a divisive issue impeding black unity. Or perhaps he no longer thought it desirable. In any case, he stopped being a separatist at the time of his break with the Black Muslims, or soon after.

What about his position on black nationalism? Everyone called him a nationalist, friend and foe, and there was no question about it until a few weeks ago. Then he was asked, in the *Young Socialist* interview, "How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?"

Previous View

He began his answer by saying, "I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth." That is, he used to define it in the traditional way, as I tried to do a few minutes ago.

The second paragraph of Malcolm's reply, which you can read for yourselves in the *Young Socialist*, relates a discussion he had with a white Algerian revolutionary he met in Ghana last May who sought to convince Malcolm that his self-designation as a black nationalist tended to alienate people "who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." His third and final paragraph was:

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

Please notice: He was reappraising his definition of black nationalism and wondering if it can be summed up as the solution; he had stopped using the term, but he had not yet been able to find another definition for the philosophy necessary for black liberation. Now let me offer what I think is the explanation for all this.

Malcolm had been a black nationalist — it was the starting point for all his thinking, the source of his strength and dynamism. And he remained a black nationalist to his last hour, however uncertain he was about what to call himself or the program he was trying to formulate. It would be a bad mistake to mix up what he was with what he thought might be a better name for what he was.

The most urgent need of the Negro people is still the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses into an independent movement to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism is still highly progressive because it contributes to that process and to the creation of that kind of movement.

But black nationalism is a means, not the end; it is a means, but not the only means; it is probably an indispensable means toward the solution, but it is not the whole solution. It helps to build an independent movement, but it does not necessarily provide the program that will lead such a movement to victory.

Two Types

In a series of articles last summer, now being collected in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet called *Marxism and the Negro Struggle*, I tried to clarify some questions about black nationalism by noting that there are at least two types of black nationalist.

One is the pure-and-simple black nationalist. He is concerned exclusively or primarily with the internal problems of the Negro community, with organizing it, helping it to control the economy of the community, the politics of the community, etc. He is not so concerned with the problems of the total American society, or with the nature of the total society within which the Negro community exists. He has no view or program for changing that society; for him, that's the white man's problem.

Now Malcolm was not that kind of black nationalist, or if he was a year ago, he did not remain that. As he discussed with people in Africa, in the Near East, at the United Nations and in the United States, as he studied and thought and learned, he began to become a black nationalist plus. Plus what? I have already given you many quotations from his speeches and interviews showing that as he studied the economy, the nature of the political and social system of American capitalism, as he developed greater and keener understanding of how this system functions and how the ruling class rules and how racism is a component and instrument of the rule, he came more and more to the conclusion that not only must the Negro control his own community, but that radical changes have to be made in the society as a whole if the Negroes are to achieve their freedom.

Black nationalism, yes. But this solution cannot be summed up as only black nationalism. Needed is black nationalism plus fundamental social change; black nationalism plus the transformation of the entire society. Whatever difficulty Malcolm may have had in finding the right name, what he was becoming was black nationalist plus revolutionist. (The *Young Socialist* interview shows that he had great respect for that word.)

There are really only three ways in which it is possible to think of the Negro people getting freedom and equality.

One way (notice I said to think about getting freedom) is through gradualism; peaceful reforms a little bit now and a little more ten years from now. No excuse for freedom Now, but Freedom Now, which for purposes of argument, as long as he is now alive, means Fred Shuttlesworth to cheer. This is the program of Roy Wilkins, Lyndon Johnson, Reuther, Bayard Rustin. Malcolm, as we know, flatly rejected this approach.

The second way is through separation, through migration to Africa, or through obtaining part of what is now the United States. Malcolm, as I indicated, had turned away from this approach, whatever his reasons may have been for doing so.

The third way — and I repeat there are only these three ways, there are no other — is through the revolutionary reorganization of society, by basically changing the economy, political structure, laws and educational system, and by replacing the present capitalist ruling class with a new government instituted by the forces that are opposed to racism and determined to uproot it.

From the quotations I read you before about what Malcolm was saying about capitalism and socialism and racism, it is clear that Malcolm tended to favor this third approach, or at least had his eyes turned in that direction. He wasn't sure if it could be done, and he wasn't sure how it could be done, but he was thinking about it and how it fitted into the program and activity of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

This, I believe, correctly explains his uncertainty about what to call himself. He was a black nationalist plus, a black nationalist plus a social revolutionist, or in the process of becoming one.

Socialists should be the last to be surprised at such a development. We have for some time been stressing the tendency of nationalism to grow over into and become merged with socialism; we have seen just that transformation occur in Cuba with Castro and his movement, which began as nationalist. We have argued against many opponents that the logical outcome of black nationalism in a country like ours is to reach the most advanced, most radical social and political conclusions. That is why we have advocated and predicted that black nationalists and revolutionary socialists can, should and will find ways of working together.

Malcolm's uncertainty about the right name arises from the fact that he was doing something new — he was on the road to a synthesis of black nationalism and socialism that would be fitting for the American scene and acceptable to the masses in the black ghetto. He did not complete the synthesis before he was murdered. It remains for others to complete what he was beginning.

Now he is dead, taken from us at what might have been the most important and fruitful year of his life.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It was a stunning blow, as Frank Lovell said at last week's memorial meeting of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., it was a stunning blow to the Negro people and to those white Americans who want to eradicate the system that breeds racism. Men like Malcolm do no appear often, or in great numbers. The enemies of human progress benefit from his death, the fighters for human progress are weakened and hurt by it.

But a stunning blow to the struggle does not destroy the struggle. Malcolm will not easily be replaced. But he will be replaced. The capitalist system breeds not only racism, but rebels against racism, especially among the youth. Malcolm cannot be replaced overnight, but meanwhile we all can and should strive harder, work harder, fight harder, unite more closely to try to fill the gap left by the death of this man we loved, and give help and encouragement to those destined to replace him.

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REPORT FROM ALGERIA

African Reactions to Malcolm X's

By Henri Dumoulin

ALGIERS — In the course of his recent visits to a number of African capitals, the American Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X, gained much sympathy in militant African circles. Two weeks before his assassination, for example, in its issue of Feb. 13, 1965, the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine* devoted a double-page center spread to an article entitled "Roads to Liberty: Rev. Martin Luther King or Malcolm X." The article reads, in part:

"Parallel with the intensification of the pacifist struggle for civil rights in the South, a militant spirit has, for some time now, animated the struggle of the black communities in the ghettos of the North. The unemployed youth are demanding their rights to justice and to jobs. In Harlem, the tenants of the overcrowded slums are conducting rent strikes. The traditional integrationist leaders, regarded as too moderate, are less and less followed by black workers who swell the ranks of nationalist organizations . . . and state their intention of using violence, if necessary, to defend themselves against the violence of the racists. The idea of a sustained struggle against the oppression of the rich whites — who completely dominate the economic life of the black ghettos and exploit its inhabitants — is spreading fast.

"Uneasy in the face of this upsurge of militant feeling, New York's officialdom has imposed a virtual police reign of terror on Harlem, while the press whips up a campaign of racist hate . . .

"Fearing above all that the oppressed black masses will be won to revolutionary socialist ideas, the municipal authorities reinforce their oppressive measures."

And *Révolution Africaine* concluded its article as follows: "The black people of the United States are descendants of the slaves brought from Africa in chains and they are still, today, a colonized and super-exploited people within the very bosom of American society. Objectively, the struggle against discrimination and racism is a struggle against the entire structure — the economic and political organization — of the United States, and a struggle for a new social order.



Malcolm X

"The struggle of American Negroes for equality and justice is thus part of the great world movement against imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. American Negroes have already begun to be aware of their kinship with all the world's oppressed and feel themselves more and more in solidarity with all peoples marching toward liberty and fulfillment of their potential as human beings."

In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

The Algerian daily, *Le Peuple*, headlined its issue of Feb. 27: "The weakness of the American authorities is at the root of the assassination of Malcolm X."

In a number of African capitals, there was a wave of protests over the assassination — from Accra, where it was declared that the black people of America would not be discouraged but would battle on to the end, to Cairo, where various East Afri movements, includi Sutoland, condemn nation.

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REPORT FROM ALGERIA

African Reactions to Malcolm X's Death

By Henri Dumesnil

ALGIERS — In the course of his recent visits to a number of African capitals, the American Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X, gained much sympathy in militant African circles. Two weeks before his assassination, for example, in its issue of Feb. 13, 1965, the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine* devoted a double-page center spread to an article entitled "Roads to *Liberty*: Rev. Martin Luther King or Malcolm X." The article reads, in part:

"Parallel with the intensification of the pacifist struggle for civil rights in the South, a militant spirit has, for some time now, animated the struggle of the black communities in the ghettos of the North. The unemployed youth are demanding their rights to justice and to jobs. In Harlem, the tenants of the overcrowded slums are conducting rent strikes. The traditional integrationist leaders, regarded as too *moderate*, are less and less followed by black workers who swell the ranks of nationalist organizations . . . and state their intention of using violence, if necessary, to defend themselves against the violence of the racists. The idea of a sustained struggle against the oppression of the rich whites — who completely dominate the economic life of the black ghettos and exploit its inhabitants — is spreading fast.

"Uneasy in the face of this upsurge of militant feeling, New York's officialdom has imposed a virtual police reign of terror on Harlem, while the press whips up a campaign of racist hate . . .

"Fearing above all that the oppressed black masses will be won to revolutionary socialist ideas, the municipal authorities reinforce their oppressive measures."

And *Révolution Africaine* concluded its article as follows: "The black people of the United States are descendants of the slaves brought from Africa in chains and they are still, today, a colonized and super-exploited people within the very bosom of American society. Objectively, the struggle against discrimination and racism is a struggle against the entire structure — the economic and political organization — of the United States, and a struggle for a new social order.



Malcolm X

"The struggle of American Negroes for equality and justice is thus part of the great world movement against imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. American Negroes have already begun to be aware of their kinship with all the world's oppressed and feel themselves more and more in solidarity with all peoples marching toward liberty and fulfillment of their potential as human beings."

In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

The Algerian daily, *Le Peuple*, headlined its issue of Feb. 27: "The weakness of the American authorities is at the root of the assassination of Malcolm X."

In a number of African capitals, there was a wave of protests over the assassination — from Accra, where it was declared that the black people of America would not be discouraged but would battle on to the end, to Cairo, where various East African nationalist movements, including that of Basutoland, condemned this assassination.

The Secretary of the *Union Syndicale Pan-Africaine* [Pan-African Labor Union] declared that the brutal murder of Malcolm X would give impetus to the development of the Afro-American struggle.

Jeune Afrique (Young Africa), the weekly published in Tunis, carried an article by its New York correspondent, Simon Malley, which said:

"It was difficult on this Sunday night of the day in which Malcolm was struck down, this night of Feb. 21, to find a single Negro in the streets of Harlem for whom the assassination of the leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity did not seem to be the result of a big conspiracy — a conspiracy to which neither the New York police nor the FBI were strangers.

"For over five hours I interviewed more than 50 Negroes in the black ghetto of New York, old and young, men and women. All agreed that, even taking into consideration the direct responsibility of the rival organization of Elijah Muhammad, the murder of Malcolm X took place in circumstances sufficiently strange to excite grave suspicions as to the role of the white law-enforcement authorities and security agents of the country."

The March 6 issue of *Révolution Africaine* again devoted a big article to the death of Malcolm X:

"Malcolm X was no more nor less than a fearless nationalist and revolutionist, spokesman of an oppressed people whom he wanted to lead on the difficult road of liberation.

"That is why the American imperialists saw in him the champion of Afro-American liberation and a particularly dangerous enemy.

"In his struggle against American racism, Malcolm X did not hesitate to internationalize the question and seek the support of all the forces in the world opposed to U.S. imperialism.

"This concept was of inestimable political and moral value for the struggle of the Negro people in the U.S., and it filled them with a new militancy, a new dynamic spirit.

"Another aspect of Malcolm X's political thought which made him particularly dangerous, in the eyes of the ruling circles of the U.S., was his categorical affirmation of the absolute right of Negroes to defend themselves against the violence and brutality from which they suffer daily.

"A 'respectable' and purely non-violent struggle, such as that led by the Rev. Martin Luther King in the South, does not seriously disturb the 'stability' of American society.

"But proclaiming the right of self-defense against that society founded on violence and cemented by blood struck terror into the hearts of the defenders of the status quo."

In recognizing the correctness of the advanced positions taken by Malcolm X, *Révolution Africaine* thus becomes the spokesman of the most politically-developed African militants in paying fitting homage to the great American black nationalist leader.

Services in Indonesia for Malcolm X

William Worthy reporting from Indonesia in the March 13 Baltimore Afro-American, says: "In response to an appeal by Indonesia's minister of religious affairs, this country's many mosques conducted on Friday special prayer services commemorating Malcolm X.

"This very weekend Malcolm had been expected to arrive here to attend the week-long Afro-Asian Islamic Conference which President Sukarno opened in Bandung Saturday morning.

"Malcolm's militancy and his identification with what Sukarno calls the new emerging forces had caught the imagination of this strongly anti-colonial Moslem nation.

"Since his death the press here has carried a running account of the . . . murder's repercussions in the colored and white communities."

Worthy also reports that in recent seizures of U.S.-owned companies, peasant unions cited Malcolm's murder as one of the reasons for the take-overs.

200 Demonstrate in London Over Murder of Malcolm X

Over 200 people took part in a demonstration in London protesting the assassination of Malcolm X. The demonstration was called by the Council of African Organizations.

"Malcolm X regarded the use of force in self-defense where violence is unleashed against the Negro's demands for freedom and for human rights as justifiable only because the hand that prevented them had been unamenable to negotiation and peaceful demands," said a statement issued by the Council. "He had little faith in those who, while breaking his head with a cudgel, exhorted him to be passive and love them. Malcom X aimed essentially at the forging of stronger links between Negroes in America, Africans and all oppressed peoples in Asia and Latin America, and that is precisely why he was murdered . . .

"The Council of African Organizations, representing over 40,000 youth and students in Britain, and the Union of African Students in Europe, are shocked and angered by this savage assassination by the agents of U.S. imperialism of our nationalist leader and militant fighter for Afro-American freedom, human rights and dignity. We express solidarity with his aims and work, which no act of brutality can undermine or obliterate. We are determined to continue his just struggle by which the rights of Afro-American people will be secured and human dignity established."

Slate New York Benefit For Malcolm X's Family

NEW YORK — The Students Against Social Injustice, a local youth organization, will hold a benefit folk-song concert with the proceeds going to the widow and children of Malcolm X.

The concert will be held on Saturday afternoon, April 10, 3 p.m., at Christ Church, 344 West 36th St. (Between Eighth and Ninth Avenues.) Contribution is $1.

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INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X LITTLE

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The following interview was given by Malcolm X to YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board members Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard early this year.

• • •

What image of you has been projected by the press?

Well, the press has purposely and skillfully projected me in the image of a racist, a race supremacist, and an extremist.

What's wrong with this image? What do you really stand for?

First, I'm not a racist. I'm against every form of racism and segregation, every form of discrimination. I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color.

Why did you break with the Black Muslims?

I didn't break, there was a split. The split came about primarily because they put me out, and they put me out because of my uncompromising approach to problems I thought should be solved and the movement could solve.

I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt.

So the only way it could function and be meaningful in the community was to take part in the political and economic facets of the Negro struggle. And the organization wouldn't do that because the

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~~stand~~ it would have to take would have been too militant, uncompromising and activist, and the hierarchy had gotten conservative. It was motivated mainly by protecting its own self interests. I might also point out that although the Black Muslim movement professed to be a religious group, the religion they had adopted—Islam—didn't recognize them. So, religiously it was in a vacuum. And it didn't take part in politics, so it was not a political group. When you have an organization that's neither political nor religious and doesn't take part in the civil rights struggle, what can it call itself? It's in a vacuum. So, all of these factors led to my splitting from the organization.

What are the aims of your new organization?

There are two organizations—there's the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which is religious. It's aim is to create an atmosphere and facilities in which people who are interested in Islam can get a better understanding of Islam. The aim of the other organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is to use whatever means necessary to bring about a society in which the 22 million Afro-Americans are recognized and respected as human beings.

How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution

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against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

Is it true, as is often said, that you favor violence?

I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be non-violent are black people. I've never heard anybody go to the Ku Klux Klan and teach them non-violence, or to the Birch society and other right-wing elements. Non-violence is only preached to black Americans and I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people non-violence until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be non-violent. I believe we should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists.

What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?

Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression.

If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being. Knowing what the black man's contributions to science and civilization have been in the past, the white man's feelings of superiority would be at least partially negated. Also, the feeling of inferiority that the black man has would be replaced by a bal-

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anced knowledge of himself. He'd feel more like a human being. He'd function more like a human being, in a society of human beings.

So it takes education to eliminate it. And just because you have colleges and universities, doesn't mean you have education. The colleges and universities in the American educational system are skillfully used to miseducate.

What were the highlights of your trip to Africa?

I visited Egypt, Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar (now Tanzania), Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea and Algeria. During that trip I had audiences with President Nasser of Egypt, President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Jomo Kenyatta (who was then Prime Minister) of Kenya, Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, President Azikiwe of Nigeria, President Nkrumah of Ghana, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea. I think the highlights were the audiences I had with those persons because it gave me a chance to sample their thinking. I was impressed by their analysis of the problem, and many of the suggestions they gave went a long way toward broadening my own outlook.

How much influence does revolutionary Africa have on the thinking of black people in this country?

All the influence in the world. You can't separate the militancy that's displayed on the African continent from the militancy that's displayed right here among American blacks. The positive image that is developing of Africans is also developing in the minds of black Americans, and, consequently they develop a more positive image of themselves. Then they take more positive steps—actions.

So you can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the black man in America. Neither could the colonization of Africa be separated from the menial position that the black man in this country was satisfied to stay in for so long. Since Africa has gotten its independence through revolution, you'll notice the stepped up cry against discrimination that has appeared in the black community.

How do you view the role of the U.S. in the Congo?

As criminal. Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo, through her ties with Tshombe and the mercenaries. You can't overlook the fact that Tshombe gets his money from the U.S. The money he uses to hire these mercenaries—these paid killers imported from South Africa—comes from the United States. The pilots that fly these planes have been trained by the U.S. The bombs themselves that are

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~~blowing~~ apart the bodies of women and children come from the U.S. So I can only view the role of the United States in the Congo as a criminal role. And I think the seeds she is sowing in the Congo she will have to harvest. The chickens that she has turned loose over there have got to come home to roost.

What about the U.S. role in South Vietnam?

The same thing. It shows the real ignorance of those who control the American power structure. If France, with all types of heavy arms, as deeply entrenched as she was in what then was called Indochina, couldn't stay there, I don't see how anybody in their right mind can think the U.S. can get in there—it's impossible. So it shows her ignorance, her blindness, her lack of foresight and hindsight and her complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time.

How do you view the activity of white and black students who went to the South last summer and attempted to register black people to vote?

The attempt was good—I should say the objective to register black people in the South was good because the only real power a poor man in this country has is the power of the ballot. But I don't believe sending them in and telling them to be nonviolent was intelligent. I go along with the effort toward registration but I think they should be permitted to use whatever means at their disposal to defend themselves from the attacks of the Klan, the White Citizens Council and other groups.

What do you think of the murder of the three civil rights workers and what's happened to their killers?

It shows that the society we live in is not actually what it tries to represent itself as to the rest of the world. This was murder and the federal government is helpless because the case involves Negroes. Even the whites involved, were involved in helping Negroes. And concerning anything in this society involved in helping Negroes, the federal government shows an inability to function. But it can function in South Vietnam, in the Congo, in Berlin and in other places where it has no business. But it can't function in Mississippi.

In a recent speech you mentioned that you met John Lewis of SNCC in Africa. Do you feel that the younger and more militant leaders in the South are broadening their views on the whole general struggle?

Sure. When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and '62 that the younger generation was much different from the

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older and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey. The students didn't think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn't be bought out.

In America students have been noted for involving themselves in panty raids, goldfish swallowing, seeing how many can get in a telephone booth—not for their revolutionary political ideas or their desire to change unjust conditions. But some students are becoming more like their brothers around the world. However, the students have been deceived somewhat in what's known as the civil rights struggle (which was never designed to solve the problem). The students were manuevered in the direction of thinking the problem was already analyzed, so they didn't try to analyze it for themselves.

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are a part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking, but they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in this country as long as they're relying on the government to do it. The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi, and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system. At the federal level they are more shrewd, more skillful at doing it, just like the FBI is more skillful than the state police and the state police are more skillful than the local police. The same with politicians. The politician at the federal level is usually more skilled than the politician at the local level, and when he wants to practice racism, he's more skilled in the practice of it than those who practice it at the local level.

The Black Ghetto

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What is your opinion of the Democratic party?

The Democratic party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican party. The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist—he's a racist but not the leading racist. The racists who have influence in Washington, D.C. are Democrats. If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party. The Dixiecrats are Democrats. The Dixiecrats are only a subdivision of the Democratic party, and the same man over the Democrats is over the Dixiecrats.

What contribution can youth, especially students, who are disgusted with racism in this society, make to the black struggle for freedom?

Whites who are sincere don't accomplish anything by joining Negro organizations and making them integrated. Whites who are sincere should organize among themselves and figure out some strategy to break down the prejudice that exists in white communities. This is where they can function more intelligently and more effectively, in the white community itself, and this has never been done.

What part in the world revolution are youth playing, and what lessons may this have for American youth?

If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. Some of them are just children and some haven't yet reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. In the Congo, the refugees point out that many of the Congolese revolutionaries are children. In fact, when they shoot captive revolutionaries, they shoot all the way down to seven years old—that's been reported in the press. Because the revolutionaries are children, young people. In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my own observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young *Simbas* in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam.

Another point—as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side

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of the An. can Negro. At this point the America Negro is still hospitable and friendly and forgiving. But if he is continually tricked and deceived and so on, and if there is still no solution to his problems, he will become completely disillusioned, disenchanted and disassociate himself from the interest of America and its society. Many have done that already.

What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

What is the outlook for the Negro struggle in 1965?

Bloody. It was bloody in 1963, it was bloody in 1964, and all of the causes that created this bloodshed still remain. The March on Washington was designed to serve as a vent or valve for the frustration that produced this explosive atmosphere. In 1964 they used the Civil Rights bill as a valve. What can they use in 1965? There is no trick that the politicians can use to contain the explosiveness that exists right here in Harlem. And look at New York Police Commissioner Murphy. He's coming out in headlines trying to make it a crime now to even predict that there's going to be trouble. This shows the caliber of American thinking. There's going to be an explosion, but don't talk about it. All the ingredients that produce explosions exist, but don't talk about it, he says. That's like saying 700 million Chinese don't exist. This is the same approach. The American has become so guilt ridden and filled with fear that instead of facing the reality of any situation he pretends the situation doesn't exist. You know, in this country it's almost a crime to say there's a place called China—unless you mean that little island called Formosa. By the same token, it's almost a crime to say that people in Harlem are going to explode because the social dynamite that existed last year is still here. So I think 1965 will be most explosive—more explosive than it was in '64 and '63. There's nothing they can do to contain it. The Negro leaders have lost their control over the people. So that when the people begin to explode—and their explosion is justified, not unjustified—the Negro leaders can't contain it.

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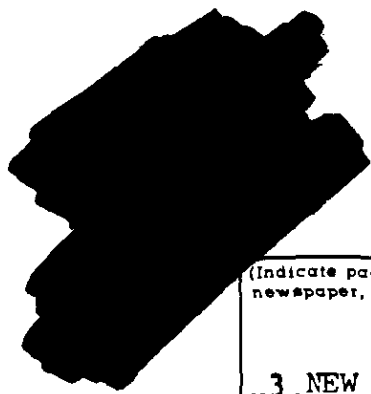
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Rally Told of $6 Million Try To Soften Malcolm on Rights

Malcolm X was offered $6 million after defecting from the Black Muslims last year "to play the civil rights game according to the rules," an admirer of the slain Black Nationalist charged.

The offer, said writer Sylvester Leaks, was made by several persons "of the white power structure" at a church on Riverside Dr. Malcolm refused, he said.

Leaks disclosed the alleged offer before 1500 persons last night at a memorial rally for Malcolm in the Rockland Palace, 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Malcolm was assassinated Feb. 21 in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, less than a mile away.

The three-hour tribute was organized by a group headed by Leaks, who described himself as a writer and an "admirer of Malcolm but not a member of anything."

The program marked the first public appearance of Malcolm's wife, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, since the murder. Mrs. Shabazz, who is expecting her fifth child in the fall, did not mention her husband but thanked the crowd for attending "on behalf of my four babies and myself."

Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, called Malcolm his teacher. "He taught me to be mean and black and hate the white man," Gray declared.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM & THE SUN

Date: 5/27/65
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

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'The light still shines...'

MEMORIAL FOR MALCOLM X

May 19, 1925, Malcolm X first saw the light of day. Sunday, Feb. 21, 1965 his light, which had shone so brightly, was snuffed out by an assassin's bullets. On May 19, 1965, forty years after his birth, black people in Harlem's Rockland Palace proclaimed that the light still shines and that from



Mrs. Ella Collins at Memorial

now on this day will be the one on which black Americans will honor their departed hero.

Singer-actor Jimmy Randolph, star of Ballad for Bimshire and Carmen Jones sang "I Believe" and mistress of ceremonies, Selma Sparks commented, "Someone did come to show the way and though he is no longer with us, this light still shines for us to follow—to freedom."

James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary and minister of Muslim Mosque, Inc., delivered a rousing tribute. Shabazz told how, when the Louisiana White Citizens Council placed a $10,000 reward on Malcolm's head, dead or alive, last year, he had still gone to this southern citadel of racism because, "My people need me.

"Brother Malcolm did something for us which we cannot do for him," said Shabazz. He died for his people.

Louise Jeffers and the O.A.A.U. Singers received great applause for their rendition of "Doing the Mau Mau."

"To really show them what you mean do the Mau Mau like in Kenya. Then the man will understand you and you'll break the chains that bind you..."

Sidi Ali, secretary of the New York Chapter of the Pan African Students Organization, introduced a number of African guests. Victor Gbeho, first secretary of the permanent mission of Ghana to the U.N. read condolences full of sincere admiration for Malcolm from President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and the Ghanaian people.

Afterwards, Sidi Ali read a poem made up of some of the phrases from the eulogy delivered by Ossie Davis at Malcolm's funeral. "To our own Shining Prince." He also commented on the very important role women had played in African struggles and paid tribute to Malcolm's sister and her leadership as a woman.

Leontyne Watts, billed as the "Penthouse Primitive" singer, delivered an exciting rendition of the song about the African God, Babalu.

Mrs. Ella Collins, Malcolm's sister and president of the O.A.A.U. which Malcolm founded, closed the first half of the evening program with a pledge to continue the work which her brother had started in the spirit of his plans.

Mrs. Collins revealed that an international center will be built in Malcolm's honor where African diplomats may come and African students may reside. There will also be a school in which Afro-American children can learn their heritage.

ARTIST'S TRIBUTE

LeRoi Jones, poet-playwright, author of **The Slave/The Toilet** and the **Dutchman** and one of the founders of the **Black Arts Theatre School**, spoke briefly in memory of Malcolm and then read an original poem dedicated to Malcolm.

There were more entertainers and speakers, including Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the Monroe Defendants who has been reindicted by the state of North Carolina for her alleged involvement in the incident which sent into Cuban exile one of the most militant southern black leaders, Robert Williams. Mary Kochiyama, a dedicated woman in the freedom fight also spoke.

There was African music by Nazi Qamar and entertainment by Dolores Taylor, singer, Kenny Durham, trumpeter and Juanita Boyd, singer and others.

The most lasting and meaningful monument to Malcolm will be the fighting for, and the achievement of, black freedom, "by any means necessary."

—Sparks/

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Jazz Festival Benefit for Mrs. Malcolm X

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By Mylas Martin
Herald Tribune Staff

Malcolm X, the fiery Black Muslim leader, is dead, but his memory is not.

Yesterday, Mrs. Sidney Poitier, wife of the movie actor, threw open the doors of her 18-room English manor house in Pleasantville, N. Y., to see her neighbors in the wealthy Bear Ridge Road district for a jazz benefit whose proceeds were to go to Malcolm's widow.

Her white neighbors, among them corporation executives, clergymen and college students, joined 1,000 other guests, most of whom were from Harlem, in paying tabs ranging from $10 to $50 for chicken, cold cuts, soft drinks and hard wooden seats.

Performers, who sang and played on a huge special stage erected outdoors in a natural amphitheatre, included the trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, the drummer Max Roach, the singer Abbe Lincoln, the Billy Taylor Trio and the singer Valerie Carr. Lena Horne, the singer, and Ahmad Jamal, the pianist, also scheduled to appear, could not attend but sent their telegramed regrets.

Upstairs, reclining on a sun-porch on the east wing, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's 30-year-old widow, surveyed the scene below her and exclaimed:

"It's wonderful. Oh my goodness, I was so excited when I got up this morning. I couldn't eat."

Mrs. Poitier, ~~who is~~ separated from the actor, is president of a 16-woman group formed, they say, the inated, Feb. 21. Shocked by the murder, their first concern was for the financial future of Mrs. Shabazz, her four daughters, ranging in age from 1 to 6 years, and the baby she expected in October.

"Our express purpose in giving this festival is to care for them, buy them a home," said one of the group, who call themselves the Concerned Mothers Mutual Benefit Committee. All are Negro.

Besides Mrs. Poitier, a pretty, brown-haired mother of four girls, members include the folksinger Odetta, Mrs.

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Malcolm Little

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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Brock Peters, wife of the Negro actor; Mrs. Betty Frank Lomax, former wife of the Negro writer Louis Lomax; Miss Lincoln; the novelist Paule Marshall, and a Manhattan lawyer, Florynce R. Kennedy.

The group has established an office at 8 E. 48th St., to receive public contributions to help Malcolm's widow. The members said they had sold "over 1,000 tickets" to yesterday's fete, and had received quite unexpected help.

"Large companies like Schenley's and Bambergers Department Stores joined smaller business groups and Harlem peopgle in donating equipment and refreshments for our festival," said a committee member.

"We have almost no overhead. And to make sure Mrs. Shabazz gets all the receipts," she added, "we've temporarily made her treasurer."

Mrs. Marshall, whose books "Brown Girl, Brownstones," and "Soul Clap Hands and Sing" were published by Random House and Atheneum, emphasized that "we are strictly non-political."

But Mrs. Lomax snapped: "We'd like to see the white American public show some of the compassion for Mrs. Shabazz that they showed in donating $60,000 to Lee Harvey Oswald's widow.

"I personally don't consider Malcolm guilty of anything wrong. But nobody, even his detractors, ca nequate him with Oswald. Yet Marina Oswald is cared for."

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Meeting in Harlem Honors Malcolm X

REC-100

NEW YORK — Civil rights militants Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi and Gloria Richardson Dandridge, formerly of Cambridge, Md., were among the featured speakers at the memorial meeting for Malcolm X held at the Rockland Palace Ballroom here May 26. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, who is expecting Malcolm's fifth child this summer, was present and greeted the audience of some 500 persons.

Fannie Lou Hamer said Malcolm was "one of the greatest men I ever met because he was one of the only men I ever met who had the guts to tell the truth." Gloria Richardson Dandridge, who led the famous Cambridge Nonviolent Action movement until she married and moved to New York last year, said that unlike those people who disliked some sides of Malcolm "my admiration was for the whole man." She liked the direction in which Malcolm was moving, she said, and for "White America with its elaborate myths it was a more dangerous Malcolm who was developing." He was cut down, she said, when it only remained for him to "fashion the political weapon oriented toward the black people and necessary for our freedom."

Among the other speakers who appeared were Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, comedian Godfrey Cambridge and actor-producer Ossie Davis. The meeting was chaired by writer Sylvester Leaks.

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THE MILITANT
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p-19 (Rev. 12-14-64)

More Questions on Malcolm X's Murder

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 18 — "Why don't you admit that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm X, instead of trying to cast suspicion on the police? Malcolm himself said the Black Muslims were trying to kill him, and he was going to reveal the names of the would-be assassins at the meeting on Feb. 21 where he was murdered."

The above is one response to my article in the July 12 *Militant*, where I took note of certain things printed in the New York newspapers after the assassination that raised questions about the conduct of the police.

The reason I don't "admit" the Black Muslims killed Malcolm is that I don't know that to be a fact. It may be so, but until it is proved it remains only a possibility — one among others. Even if Black Muslims or their agents were out to kill him, they may not have been the only ones.

What Malcolm thought about it is important, but not conclusive; he did not have all the facts either.

When his home was bombed on Feb. 14, a week before his assassination, he definitely accused the Black Muslims of the murder attempt. He believed it was a continuation of their bitter attacks and harassments.

Once he had made this accusation, it was a perfect setup for other forces to kill him and have it assumed that the Black Muslims were guilty. I do not say it happened that way; I say it could have happened that way if other forces were out to get him.

Second Thoughts

The police and the press publicized Malcolm's first opinion, but not his later doubts about that opinion. Yet it is a fact that in the last two or three days of his life Malcolm began to have second thoughts about the question. He told associates he was "not all that sure it's the Muslims" and that he was going to quit saying it was.

And in the last hour of his life, as he sat in the small anteroom of the Audubon Ballroom waiting for his turn to speak, he told members of his organization there that he was going to state that he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home, because things that had happened after the bombing had convinced him of the existence of a plot bigger and beyond the capabilities of the Black Muslims.

Again, he might have been right or he might have been wrong. The point is that he did not know for sure, and therefore his opinion one way or the other is not conclusive.

In my previous article I called attention to some things that the New York papers reported right after the assassination and then dropped like a hot potato: That the crowd had seized and was beating two men whom they accused of having killed Malcolm; that the police came and rescued these two men; that they later indicted one of them, Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., for the murder; but that they never have said anything about the second man, who has simply disappeared without explanation.

Trying to figure out why the police behaved so strangely in regard to this second man, I noted that they admitted "several" police agents were in the hall pretending to be ordinary members of the audience when the killing took place, and I speculated that the second man might have been one of these police agents. I said that this might account for the way the top police dealt with him, and then I asked again: If he was a police agent, what was he doing that convinced a part of the audience that he was one of the killers?

In the recent Statue of Liberty case in New York, it turned out that the chief initiator of whatever was plotted was an agent-provocateur planted there by the city police. When a Ku Klux Klan gang murdered Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, it turned out that one member of the gang was an agent planted there by the FBI. It is well known, and Malcolm pointed this out several times, that the police and the FBI have infiltrated the Black Muslims.



Malcolm X

These are reasons why I cannot rule out the possibility that a police agent might have been part of the murder gang, even encouraging the plot. It doesn't at all displease the police that Malcolm is dead and his movement beheaded, under circumstances that favor blaming the Black Muslims and possibly wiping out their movement, too.

If such speculation is without basis, if the police did not have an agent in the murder gang, if the police were in no way implicated in the murder, then they should easily be able to clear up the puzzling questions about the second man, whose identity and role they know.

While they are at it, perhaps they will clear up some other matters about their conduct.

Malcolm's body was hardly cold before top police officials began bombarding the public with statements about how often they had offered him protection. Every official had a different figure for the number of offers, but all of them said Malcolm refused protection.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, had another story. Ted Poston, writing in the Feb. 23 *New York Post*, told of her reaction, the night after the killing, as she was watching TV and heard Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm say, "Of course we offered Malcolm X police protection many times — as late as the day his house was bombed." "That's a lie," Mrs. Shabazz said.

Not Absolved

Either way, the police are not absolved of the responsibility for preventing murder. They are supposed to protect people, they are supposed to prevent murder, even of people who don't want special protection. And in this case they knew, more than a month before Feb. 21, that Malcolm's murder was being planned.

That isn't what I say — that's what they say. "According to the police spokesman, the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life," the New York *Journal-American* reported on Feb. 23.

The police spokesman did not say *how* they knew. This would be interesting, but here let us confine ourselves to the question of what the police, knowing about the murder plot, did in and around the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21.

We already know that there were "several" undercover police agents in the audience. What about outside?

"According to police officials, a patrolman was stationed outside the ballroom," the New York *World-Telegram* reported Feb. 22.

A high police official, after confirming that police agents were planted inside the meeting, added, "And there were a couple of uniformed men outside," the *Herald Tribune* reported Feb. 23.

"Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday [Feb. 22] that a special detail had been assigned outside the ballroom . . . Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in charge of Manhattan North uniformed police said Sunday [Feb. 21] that two sergeants and 18 patrolmen had been stationed in the area," the *New York Times* reported on Feb. 23.

Which was it — "a" patrolman, "a couple" or a "special detail" of 20? Why such discrepancies about a relatively simple question? What does it denote — ineptness, indifference, or a sense of guilt?

Let us, for the moment, give the police department the benefit of the doubt and assume that they did assign 20 cops outside the Audubon. The sight of them might have had some effect on the killers. Where were the 20 cops between the time people began to arrive for the rally and the time of the killing? Many witnesses saw few or no cops as they reached the Audubon.

Mrs. Patricia M. Russell, a psychiatric social worker of New Rochelle, who wrote an eyewitness description of the murder in the Feb. 27 Baltimore *Afro-American*, said, "When we drove past the Audubon Ballroom . . . there were two police cars and eight policemen — two in front and six standing across the street at various corners. We had to look for a parking space and did not get back to the ballroom for 10 minutes. The area in front of the ballroom was clear of policemen. There was not one officer in sight." This was 10 or 15 minutes before the murder.

Where was the special detail of 20 police at this time?

If it had depended on the [illegible] alone, nobody would have been captured at the scene of the crime.

Police Do Nothing

The "several" police agents didn't do anything to catch the men who shot Malcolm down right in front of them.

Talmadge Hayer, the only person captured at the Audubon who was indicted by the police for the murder, would have got away if it had depended solely on the cops, inside or outside. Someone shot him in the leg as he fled, and the crowd chasing him caught him outside the ballroom. If it had not been for the shot and the crowd, Hayer would have got away before police showed up.

When the police finally did appear, Hayer was seized from the crowd by Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos. The Feb. 23 *Times* said they "were cruising in their patrol car on upper Broadway shortly after 3 P.M. when they heard shots in the Audubon Ballroom." The Feb. 23 *Daily News* said they "were driving by."

There was no claim by anybody that Aronoff and Angelos belonged to any special detail. They apparently were on regular cruising duty out of their precinct station, and happened to be passing by as Hayer and the people chasing him spilled out into the street.

It is not necessary for me to charge the police with ineptness or indifference — the facts speak for themselves. The question is why they acted this way. And related to that question are two others:

Did the killers act as boldly as they did because they had reason to believe that none of them would be caught by the police at the Audubon — which (leaving the second man aside) is exactly how it would have turned out if someone (not a cop) hadn't shot Hayer in the leg?

And if they had reason to believe this, what was that reason?

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Malcolm X's Murder And the N.Y. Police

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 4 — Some mystifying questions about the assassination of Malcolm X arise if you carefully read the New York newspaper reports printed right after the assassination, as I have just done. Some of them concern the role of the police.

I should explain, at the beginning, that I have no fixed theory about the killing. I don't know if agents of the Black Muslims did it; or if agents of white racists did it; or if agents of the government or the police did it; or if agents of a combination of these forces, who all hated Malcolm, did it. I am, at this point, only asking some questions provoked by studying different editions of the six New York daily papers after the killing.

Certain things seem agreed upon by everybody:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity had scheduled a rally on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. This was one week after Malcolm's home was fire-bombed and he and his family narrowly escaped injury or death. People entering the rally were not searched. On the other hand, they were all scrutinized by OAAU aides as they entered the hall.

Malcolm had just begun to speak when two men began a scuffle deliberately designed to distract the attention of Malcolm's guards. Three men rushed toward Malcolm, opening fire and wounding him mortally; they then ran out of the ballroom, pursued by several of Malcolm's supporters.

Police said that one of the three, identified later as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., had received a bullet in the leg by the time he got to the exit of the building. The police also alleged that he had been wounded by Reuben Francis, a Malcolm guard.

Hayer was seized outside the building by the people pursuing him. So was another man. The people began to beat and kick



Malcolm X

Hayer and the second man. Police arrived and rescued the two being beaten, taking them away from the crowd.

The third man got away. He got away because the crowd did not catch him. Hayer and the second man also would have got away if the crowd hadn't caught and held them until the police showed up.

Now let us turn to the New York *Herald Tribune* dated Monday, Feb. 22. This is a morning paper, which means that the first edition of the paper dated Monday actually appeared Sunday evening, a few hours after the killing. The top headline in the first (city) edition reads: "Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen as 400 in Ballroom Watch." The subhead, over the lead article by Jimmy Breslin, reads: "Police Rescue Two Suspects."

Breslin's story in this edition reports that Hayer was "taken to

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
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...Questions About the Police and Malcolm X's Murder

(Continued from Page 1)

Bellevue Prison Ward and was sealed off by a dozen policemen. The other suspect was taken to the Wadsworth Avenue precinct, where the city's top policemen immediately converged and began one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen."

Next we turn to a later (late city) edition of the same paper for the same day. The top headline is unchanged. But the subhead is different. This time it reads, "Police Rescue One Suspect."

The "second" suspect has dropped not only out of the headline, but out of Breslin's story too. Nothing about his being caught and beaten by the crowd, nothing about his being rescued by the police, nothing about his being taken to the Wadsworth station, nothing about the city's top police converging on that station.

Suspect Vanishes

Not only does he disappear from Breslin's story in the late city edition, but he disappears from the *Herald Tribune* altogether from that date to this.

Perhaps the whole thing never happened? Perhaps Breslin, in the heat of the moment, had in his first story reported a mere rumor as a fact, and, being unable to verify it, decided not to repeat it in later editions?

But there are three morning papers in New York, and in their first editions they *all* said it happened.

For example, let us examine the first (city) edition of the *New York Times* for Feb. 22. The subhead is very clear: "Police Hold Two for Questioning."

From the *Times'* city edition, we even learn the name of the cop who captured the "second" man. It is Patrolman Thomas Hoy, who is quoted as saying he had "grabbed a suspect" being chased by some people.

But when we turn to the late city edition of the same *Times*, printed only a few hours later, we find that its subhead too has changed. It now reads: "One Is Held in Killing."

But the story hasn't yet been changed altogether. Patrolman Hoy still remains in the late city story, and so does the "second" man who has dropped out of the subhead. In fact, the story has more about Hoy than it had in the city edition.

This time the *Times* reports: "'As I brought him to the front of the ballroom, the crowd began beating me and the suspect,' Patrolman Hoy said. He said he put this man — not otherwise identified later for newsmen — into a police car to be taken to the Wadsworth Avenue station."

Then Hoy's captive disappears from the *Times* as completely and as permanently as he did from the *Herald Tribune*, and from all the other daily papers.

But there cannot be any doubt in the mind of anyone reading the accounts I have cited that a second man was captured and taken away by the police.

Who was he?

Why did the press lose interest

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
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MALCOLM X'S MURDER AND THE NY POLICE

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in him so suddenly, at a time that it was filling its pages with all kinds of material about the murder, including the silliest trivialities and wildest rumors? Was it because the police "advised" them to?

Why did Patrolman Hoy deem the "second" man to be a suspect? What was he doing at the time Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the crowd deem him to be a suspect? What had they seen him doing before Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the city's "top policemen" surround him with a wall of silence that has not been pierced for 4½ months?

If they decided he was innocent, why didn't they say so publicly? That is the usual practice.

Why didn't they at least announce his name? That is also usually done.

Who Was He?

What did the "second" man know about the murder plot and the identity of the killers?

It is extremely difficult to figure out why the police (and the press) behaved in this way. It leads to another question:

Could the "second" man have been a police agent?

Fantastic? Only if you don't know anything about the police, FBI, CIA, etc.

It is standard procedure for them to infiltrate radical, black nationalist and just militant organizations. Sometimes, as the recent "Statue of Liberty" case showed, these police agents worm their way into positions where they can carry out provocations or cause other damage, in addition to merely "reporting" what happens inside the organizations infiltrated.

We do not have to speculate about whether or not the police infiltrated the Organization of Afro-American Unity and whether or not such police agents were present at the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the assassination. The answer is yes, without any speculation.

A "high police official" said, as reported in the *Herald Tribune* Feb. 23, that "several" members of the highly secretive Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) were present in the audience at the time of the killing. (BOSS is the police agency involved in the Statue of Liberty provocation.) After talking to this high police official, *Herald Tribune* staff member Milton Lewis wrote:

"It is no secret that BOSS police — who never wear uniforms — have credentials to cover almost any situation, so that if they were required to have a card or emblem of the Black Nationalist sect it is a safe bet that they had them."

So perhaps the "second" man was a police agent, and perhaps the strange behavior of the top police results from their desire to protect one of their own "several" men present at the Audubon.

But in that case, the question must be asked again, and such questions will keep on being asked until the whole story is told: Why was the crowd convinced that the "second" man was one of the killers?

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Report October Trial Set In Killing of Malcolm X

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK — The trial date in the Malcolm X murder case has been set for late October, according to an article by Abel Silver in the Sept. 22 *New York Post*. Silver apparently was given this information while questioning the New York District Attorney's office about the unusual delay in bringing the three murder suspects indicted last March to trial.

Indicative of the lurid treatment the press will probably give this trial, after eight months of conspicuous silence concerning police investigation of Malcolm's killers, Silver's article begins, "A police guard will be thrown around witnesses called to testify at the trial [because] authorities fear that threats may be made against some of the witnesses."



Malcolm X

Suspect

Silver states that one of the suspects, Thomas Hagan (alias Talmadge Hayer), "was shot and wounded by Malcolm's outraged bodyguard and had to be rescued from lynching by police assigned to the hall." There are two pieces of misinformation in this sentence.

The first is that no one to this day, including the police, has identified the person who shot Thayer; the second is that Thayer was not arrested by police assigned to the hall, but was held by people from the audience in the hall until police arrived later (and, incidentally, Thayer would not have been arrested if he was not held by the crowd).

The other two suspects, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, were arrested Feb. 26, five days after the assassination, and March 3, respectively. They are charged with assaulting Malcolm X with weapons, which could only mean that they were in the Audubon Ballroom when the assassination occurred.

This allegation is noteworthy because both Butler and Johnson were well-known and leading figures in the New York mosque of the Black Muslims, and they would have been well-known to Malcolm's assistants who closely scrutinized the audience before the Feb. 21 murder.

In January, Butler and Johnson and a third man were arrested after an argument with an ex-Muslim, Benjamin Brown, that ended in the shooting of Brown. Butler and Johnson were out on bail on first degree assault charges in that case at the time of the Malcolm killing.

All of the events surrounding the murder of the black nationalist leader are shrouded in mystery and confusion. The role of the police has been highly suspect. The press has been conspicuously lacking in curiosity about the progress of the case. It remains to be seen what the police will come up with at the trial this fall.

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THE MILITANT
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REVIEWS and REPORTS

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. Grove Press, 1965, xvi + 455 pp., $7.50.

Malcolm X worked on this book because he hoped "that if I honestly and fully tell my life's account, read objectively it might prove to be a testimony of some social value." That hope is fulfilled; his autobiography is a valuable document helping to explain the development of a remarkable man who had a strong influence on black and white thought in our time.

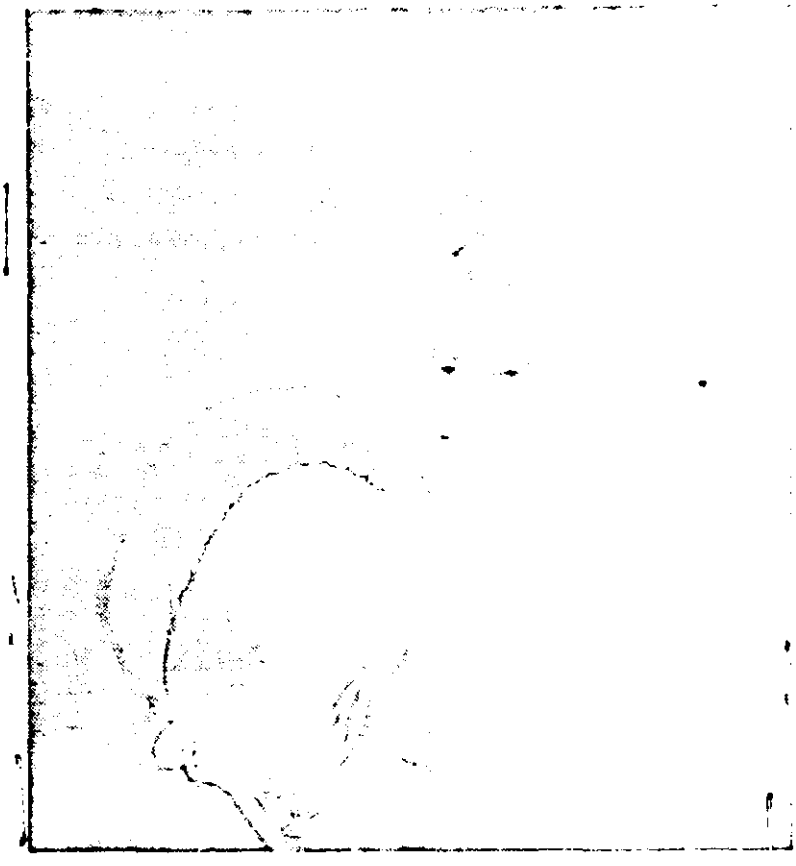
The publishers say it is "a classic of American testimony, fit to stand beside Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the others who have explained what it is to be a black man in white America." This is true, although its literary quality does not compare with that of the writers cited.

Malcolm was not a writer; he "told" this book to Alex Haley. Because Haley did not sympathize with his views, Malcolm stipulated that nothing be in it that he had not said and that nothing be left out of it that he wanted in it. The actual writing and arrangement were done by Haley. As Malcolm had predicted, he did not live to see the full and final version; he was assassinated on the weekend that he was supposed to visit Haley's home for a last reading of the manuscript.

There is another factor that keeps this from being the "definitive" book on Malcolm. And that is the fact that it was completed during a period of great and rapid change in his life and outlook, and does not adequately reflect ideas and positions he arrived at in his final months.

Original Purpose

Originally, it was to be the story of Malcolm the Black Muslim; the first dedication was to Elijah Muhammad and the royalties were to go to his organization. It was begun early in 1963, a full year before Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims in March, 1964, and most of the material was set down in print before the break. If it had been published then, it would still have been a fascinating narrative, but almost strictly "orthodox" Black Muslim lines.



The late Malcolm X and daughter Ilyasah

Malcolm later wanted to make changes in this part of the book (not in its account of what had happened, but in the opinions and judgments expressed there). However, he let Haley talk him out of making such changes. This was unfortunate, because the book attributes to Malcolm formulations and even concepts that he no longer held at the time of his death. In his epilogue, Haley himself brings up to date Malcolm's changed views on intermarriage; but a gap remains in the book on other, more basic questions.

After the split with Muhammad, three or four chapters were added on, but only the report of the split and Malcolm's first trip to Mecca and Africa in the spring of 1964 can be regarded as in any way satisfactory. His second and longer trip to Africa in the summer is barely mentioned, and there is very little about the crucial last three months after his return to the U.S. — which was the period when his ideas were developing most rapidly (on black nationalism, socialism, etc.).

Until a study of this period in Malcolm's life is published, the new Merit Publishers' book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, and especially its last eight chapters, containing speeches and statements from December, 1964, to February, 1965, are indispensable for understanding the revolutionary direction of Malcolm's thought which the

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X

CONT.

autobiography presents only in part and in some parts unclearly or ambiguously.

The first half of the autobiography deals with Malcolm until the age of 27 — his birth in Nebraska, his childhood in Michigan, his adolescence in Boston, his drift into hustling, narcotics and crime in Harlem, his arrest for robbery before he was 21, his 6½ years in prison and his introduction to the doctrines of Elijah Muhammad. It explains convincingly why this shrewd young man, who had not believed in anything but how to make a fast buck, was so powerfully attracted to the Black Muslims and why he became Muhammad's most dedicated and unquestioning disciple.

Tireless Work

The second half includes Malcolm's picture of the Black Muslims and his tireless work in helping to build it from a small sect into an influential national organization (1952-64), and some of the events in the brief 50 weeks remaining of his life after he left the Black Muslims. The conception of Malcolm held by the masses in the black ghetto — of an uncompromising and incorruptible militant — is fully confirmed in these chapters; and with it is evidence of Malcolm's capacity for continued intellectual growth. Some readers may also be surprised by Malcolm's sense of humor, his modesty, his respect and hunger for education, and his class-consciousness (in relation to the Negro middle class).

Along the way, Malcolm expresses opinions on a wide variety of subjects, most connected with race relations, but not all. Some of these are acute, and others are *nothing* but prejudices (for example, his unenlightened attitude toward women, which stemmed partly from his experiences as a hustler and was reinforced by Black Muslim doctrine on relations between women and men). His predictions that he would die violently, that he would be killed *before this book was published*, and that the press would then identify him with hate and irresponsibility, proved to be all too correct.

In addition to the autobiography, the book contains an introduction by *New York Times* reporter M.S. Handler (marred by the utterly wrong statement that at the end of his life Malcolm "no longer inveighed against the United States"); a brief after-word by actor-playwright Ossie Davis, explaining why he gave the eulogy at Malcolm's funeral; and a 74-page epilogue by Alex Haley.

The epilogue is quite good where Haley is reporting things he personally witnessed and experienced — how the book was written, the tension under which Malcolm lived, how hard he worked, how he felt most at ease among the masses on the streets of Harlem, how aware he was of a tendency to shut his mind to problems he couldn't solve, etc. It is not so good where Haley touches on things like the organizational problems facing Malcolm and his co-workers, which Malcolm never discussed with him.

Haley carries the story up to Malcolm's assassination and funeral, but this is for the most part a routine summary of the newspaper articles of that time, which were more concerned with sensationalizing the developments than with digging into them. One exception is Haley's report that Malcolm told him, on the phone the day before the assassination:

"The more I keep thinking about this thing, the things that have been happening lately [attempts on his life], I'm not all that sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do, and what they can't and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on. Now, I'm going to tell you, the more I keep thinking about what happened to me in France, I think I'm going to quit saying it's the Muslims." The next day, an hour before his death, he said the same thing to associates in the anteroom to the Audubon Ballroom.

— George Breitman

Twin Girls Are Born To Malcolm X's Widow

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the 30-year-old widow of Malcolm X, gave birth to two girls on Oct. 7 in Brookdale Hospital, Brooklyn.

Both girls will be named after her late husband, the *Amsterdam News* of Oct. 9 reported. One of the girls will be called Maliki, after Malcolm X's Muslim first name, Malik. The twins are not identical.

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Malcolm X Speaks

With one exception, the new book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, consists of speeches and statements made between March, 1964, when Malcolm left the Black Muslims, and February, 1965, when he was assassinated. The exception is the first speech in the book, "Message to the Grass Roots," which was given to a militant conference in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963. This was one of Malcolm's last speeches as a Black Muslim, but in it he was already beginning to express ideas (on black nationalism, separation and revolution) that had a different emphasis from the orthodox Black Muslim line. Later, after leaving the Black Muslims, Malcolm developed ideas different, on some points, than the ones expressed in this speech.



Excerpted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price $5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 1

MESSAGE TO THE GRASS ROOTS

We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here.

And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.

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Forget Differences

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Methodist or Baptist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the Mayflower. You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the Mayflower, you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite — on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy — the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at the Bandung conference, and the results of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia.

Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists — despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get together. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line. This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity . . .

They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis — that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man — blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin — the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle — don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

Next week: What is a Revolution?

MALCOLM X SPEAKS

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Malcolm X Speaks

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

Installment 2

WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution . . . First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed.

The French Revolution — what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you — you don't know what a revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.



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Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution — what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, *you're afraid to bleed.*

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?

If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us; and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

The Chinese Revolution — they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article — don't be shocked when I say that I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read

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an article in *Life* magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom Chinaman.

When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth — by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight.

There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land.

In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks — on the toilet.

That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Who ever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation — they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too — yes, it was — white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? — black nationalism.

A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

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MALCOLM X SPEAKS

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BACK MALCOLM X

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The Malcolm X Inquiry Committee, formed "out of indignation at Malcolm's assassination going unnoticed in the current political campaign" sent letters to candidates demanding action to see that "...southern justice is not truly the law..."

A letter from the D.A.'s office said that the trial should start within six to eight weeks and Manhattan Borough President Constance Baker Motley "saw no need at apprehension about a trial delay of Malcolm X's 'alleged assassins.'"

PLP State Senatorial Candidate Bill Epton said he was in complete agreement with the Committee's concern over the trial delay and had cited the Malcolm X case in his election pamphlet and would do so in future literature.

In a recent advertisement in the Amsterdam News, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Elect Bill Epton, a demand was made for a speedy trial for the assassins of militant fighter Malcolm X.

The Committee of Inquiry is collecting funds for a newspaper advertisement regarding their work. In their letter to the Harlem PLP leader they said, "As voting citizens we find it difficult to choose among candidates who have not taken a stand on this issue."

Epton pointed out that he was the only candidate running for any office who has made this issue part of his campaign platform. A Committee answer has since thanked him for his "warm supporting letter."

MALCOLM X

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Books of The Times

An Eloquent Testament

By ELIOT FREMONT-SMITH

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. By Malcolm X, with Alex Haley. Introduction by M. S. Handler. Epilogue by Alex Haley. Illustrated. 455 pages. Grove. $7.50.

IT is probably fair to say that the majority of the public regards Malcolm X, who was shot down by gunmen at an afternoon rally last Feb. 21 in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, as a violence-preaching "Black Muslim" racial agitator who reaped his own bloody death. Ironically, this is also the stated view of Elijah Muhammad, the self-proclaimed "Messenger of Allah" and leader of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) which, among other things, advocates racial segregation and black supremacy. "We didn't want to kill Malcolm!" Mr. Muhammad cried over the heads of his bodyguards (among them, Cassius Clay) at a Black Muslim convention in Chicago shortly after the murder. "His foolish teaching would bring him to his own end!" There is, however, another view of Malcolm X—one that is increasingly prevalent among civil rights advocates—that with his death American Negroes lost their most able, articulate and compelling spokesman.



The New York Times
Malcolm X

Both views represent parts of the truth. While he was a recruiter for Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X preached black superiority; and to the end he maintained that Negro violence was at least an appropriate response to white violence against Negroes. It is also true that in the last year of his life he radically modified certain of his ideas and began to take an active role in the securing of Negro rights within, not apart from, American society.

How important a spokesman he could have been for American Negroes had he lived remains in doubt. His advocacy of black supremacy came with his conversion to the Elijah Muhammad-centered cult of the Nation of Islam while in prison. His beginning advocacy of civil rights and racial equality came with a second conversion—to the Islamic religion.

It has been said, correctly I think, that "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a book about the nature of religious conversion, the sense of being born anew that certain people experience. Certainly, his account of this phenomenon that he underwent twice—the movement from utter despair to elation and the sense of mission—is one of the book's major fascinations.

But the book is more. It tells what happens to an intelligent Negro who discovers that he has, within American society, no future. And it shows in the most powerful and precise terms what this really means—the systematized destruction of Negro self-respect as an almost automatic function of white society.

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People's World
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It takes quite a lot to destroy a man's self-respect, yet Malcolm X's early life does not seem unique. In 1929 (his last name then was Little; he was 4 years old) he watched his parents' home in Lansing, Mich., burn to the ground, set afire by hoodlums who didn't like "uppity" Negroes. His father, a Baptist minister and a follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, died mysteriously shortly afterward. In grade school Malcolm was a popular and brilliant student, but when he said he wanted to be a lawyer, he was told he should set his sights on carpentry. Later he pimped, pushed narcotics, became an addict, took up burglary and, at 20, was caught in Boston and sentenced to 10 years, a term that reflected not his legal crime, but the judge's disapproval of his having a white mistress.

It's not an unusual story, except that Malcolm was saved from its usual continuation; he was born anew. Through religious allegiance to Elijah Muhammad he gained a purpose that his country, a larger prison and its prevailing morality, had denied him.

As this extraordinary autobiography shows the source of Malcolm X's power was not alone in his intelligence, energy, electric personality or ability to grow and change, remarkable as these were. Its source was that he understood, perhaps more profoundly than any other Negro leader, the full, shocking extent of America's psychological destruction of its Negroes.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a brilliant, painful, important book. Alex Haley has made very readable the many hours of taped interviews, and his own epilogue, about working with Malcolm X, the assassination, his estimate of the man, is candid and perceptive. The book raises many difficult questions, and it is a testament parts of which many readers will not approve. But as a document for our time, its insights may be crucial; its relevance cannot be doubted.

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Malcolm X Speaks—

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963.

Installment 3

THE HOUSE NEGRO AND THE FIELD NEGRO

There were two kinds of slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes — they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food — what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" *We* sick! He identified himself with his master, more than his master identified with himself.

Crazy Idea?

And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call them today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about: "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro.



Excerpted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price $5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you got here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

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of residence. This enables the whites to control black labor as they want to, and they use the pass system and all other devices in order to control this labor, in order to direct it to places they want, at the gold mines, the white farms, and the industries, and in the quantities they want.

"So that you can say the whole of the black population is peasant, landless peasants it is true, but peasants. Those few who stay in towns have no right to be in towns. They are there only insofar as they are employed by whites in town.

"This means that the bulk of the population is the black landless peasants, and this is our starting point, that no meaningful movement or organization can be created without the peasantry. So we concentrated in building up organizations, and in politicizing the peasantry."

Tabata then discussed the Cape African Teacher's Association, an affiliate of the Unity Movement as an example of the type of organization which is presently

master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here."

You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about *"our* government is in trouble." They say, *"The* government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: *"Our* government!" I even heard one say *"our* astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant — and *"our* astronauts!" *"Our* Navy" — that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

Get Numb

That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer — peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer — peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering — just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life. That's good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf — and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life, it's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education — a *little* education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes — and a Negro leader.

Next week: The Negro leaders.

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CONTINUED

MALCOLM X SPEAKS

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~~3 to Go~~ on Trial Dec. 6 In Slaying of Malcolm X

The trial of three Negroes charged with first-degree murder in the slaying of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, has been set for Dec. 6, the District Attorney's office said yesterday.

The men charged with wilfully killing Malcolm "with a shotgun and pistols" are Thomas Hagan, 22 years old, also known as Thomas Hayer and Talmadge Hayer, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N.J.; Norman 3X Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 29, of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx.

Judge Charles Marks will try the case in State Supreme Court.

Malcolm was shot last Feb. 21 as he started to address a rally of his Organization of Afro-American Unity in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street.

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MAKING HIS MARK

A strong diagnosis of America's racial sickness in one Negro's odyssey

By Bayard Rustin

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. With the assistance of Alex Haley. Illustrated. Grove Press. 455 pp. $7.50.

This odyssey of an American Negro in search of his identity and place in society really begins before his birth 40 years ago in Omaha, Neb. He was born Malcolm Little, the son of an educated mulatto West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist minister on Sundays and dedicated organizer for Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement the rest of the week.

The first incident Malcolm recounts, as if it were his welcome to white America, occurred just before he was born. A party of Ku Klux Klanners galloped up to his house, threatened his mother and left a warning for his father "to stop spreading trouble among the good" Negroes and get out of town. They galloped into the night after smashing all the windows. A few years later the Klan was to make good on its threat by burning down the Littles' Lansing, Mich., home because Malcolm's father refused to become an Uncle Tom. These were the first in a series of incidents of racial violence, characteristic of that period, that were to haunt the nights of Malcolm and his family and hang like a pall over the lives of Negroes in the North and South. Five of Reverend Little's six brothers died by violence—four at the hands of white men, one by lynching, and one shot down by Northern police officers. When Malcolm was six, his father was found cut in two by a trolley car with his head bashed in. Malcolm's father had committed "suicide," the authorities said. Early in his life Malcolm concluded "that I too would die by violence . . . I do not expect to live long enough to read this book."

Malcolm's early life in the Midwest was not wholly defined by race. Until he went to Boston when he was 14, after his mother suffered a mental breakdown from bringing up eight children alone, his friends were often white; there were few Negroes in the small Midwestern towns where he grew up. He recounts with pride how he was elected president of his eighth-grade class in an almost totally white school.

But the race problem was always there, although Malcolm, who was light-skinned, tried for a time to think of himself as white or just like anyone else. Even in his family life, color led to conflict that interfered with normal relationships. The Reverend Little was a fierce disciplinarian, but he never laid a hand on his light-skinned son because, unconsciously, according to Malcolm, he had developed respect for white skin. On the other hand, Malcolm's mother, whose father was a white man, was ashamed of this and favored Malcolm's darker brothers and sisters. Malcolm wrote that he spent his life trying to purge this tainted white blood of a rapist from his veins.

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Race also set the limits on his youthful ambitions during what he describes as his "mascot years" in a detention home run by whites with mixed feelings of affection and superiority towards him. One of the top students in his school and a member of the debating club, Malcolm went to an English teacher he admired and told him of his ambition to become a lawyer. "Mr. Ostrowsky looked surprised and said, 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic . . . a lawyer, that's no realistic goal for a nigger . . . you're good with your hands . . . why don't you plan on carpentry?'" How many times has this scene been repeated in various forms in schoolrooms across the country? It was at this point, Malcolm writes, "that I began to change—inside. I drew away from white people."

Too many people want to believe that Malcolm "the angry black man sprang full grown from the bowels of the Harlem ghetto." These chapters on his childhood are essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the plight of American Negroes.

Malcolm Little was 14 when he took the Greyhound to Boston to live with his half-sister, Ella, who had fought her way into the Boston "black bourgeoisie." The "400," as they were called, lived on "the Hill," only one step removed socially, economically and geographically from the ghetto ("the Town"). Malcolm writes that "a big percentage of the Hill dwellers were in Ella's category—Southern strivers and scramblers and West Indian Negroes, whom both the New Englanders and Southerners called 'Black Jews.'" Ella owned some real estate and her own home, and like the first Jews who arrived in the New World, she was determined to shepherd new immigrants and teach them the strange ways of city life. There were deep bonds between Ella and her younger brother, and she tried to help him live a respectable life on the Hill.

But for Malcolm the 400 were only "a big-city version of those 'successful' Negro bootblacks and janitors back in Lansing . . . 8 out of 10 of the Hill Negroes of Roxbury . . . actually worked as menials and servants. . . . I don't know how many 40- and 50-year-old errand boys went down the Hill dressed as ambassadors in black suits and white collars to downtown jobs 'in government,' 'in finance,' or 'in law.'" Malcolm instead chose "the Town," where for the first time he felt he was part of a people.

Unlike the thousands of Negro migrants who poured into the Northern ghettos, Malcolm had a choice. But from the moment he made it, the options narrowed. He got a job at the Roseland Ballroom, where all the jazz greats played. His title was shoeshine boy, but his real job was to hustle whiskey, prophylactics and women to Negroes and whites. He got his first conk and zoot suit and a new identity, "Red," and his secondary education began before he was 15. "I was . . . schooled well, by experts in such hustles as the numbers, pimping, con games of many kinds, peddling dope, and thievery of all sorts, including armed robbery."

It is significant that it was Malcolm's good qualities—his intelligence, integrity, and distaste for hypocrisy—as well as his sickness that made him choose crime rather than what passed in the Negro community for a respectable bourgeois life. Later he moved on to bigger things in Harlem, became "Detroit Red," went on dope and at one time carried three guns.

His description of the cutthroat competition between the hustlers and their fraternity is both frightening and moving. "As in the case of any jungle," he writes, "the hustler's every waking hour is lived with both the practical and the subconscious knowledge that if he ever relaxes, if he ever slows down, the other hungry, restless foxes, ferrets, wolves, and vultures out there with him won't hesitate to make him their prey." He summed up his morality at the time: "The only thing I considered wrong was what I got caught doing wrong . . . and everything I did was done by instinct to survive." As a "steerer" of uptown rich whites to Harlem "sex specialties," he recounts perversions with racial overtones, of white men begging to be beaten by black women or paying large amounts to witness interracial sex that make Genet's "The Balcony" seem inhibited by comparison.

"Detroit Red" was a limited success in his trade for four years. But even in this business, success was limited by race. The big operators, the successful, respectable, and safe executives of policy, dope, and prostitution rackets, were white and lived outside the ghetto.

Malcolm left Harlem to return to Boston, and a few months later was caught as the head of a burglary gang. In February, 1946, not quite 21, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison, though the average sentence for burglary was about two years—the price for his being caught with his white girl friend and her sister.

Most of the first year in prison, Malcolm writes, he spent in solitary confinement, cursing: "My favorite targets were the Bible and God." Malcolm got a new name from the other prisoners—"Satan"—and plenty of time to think. He went through what he described as a great spiritual crisis, and, as a result, he, the man who cursed God, bowed down and prayed to Allah. It will be difficult for those readers who have never been in prison to understand the psychological torment that prisoners experience, their feelings of isolation, their need to totally commit their minds to something outside of themselves. Men without any of the external economic symbols of status seek security in a religion, philosophy or ideology. Malcolm particularly, with his great feelings of rebelliousness, hatred and internal conflict, turned to books and ideas for relief. When his brothers and sisters wrote to him that they had become followers of Elijah Muhammad and sent him Elijah's teachings, Malcolm seized on the tracts. Stimulated, he read other books on religion and philosophy voraciously. In his spiritual and psychological crisis he underwent religious conversion.

He took on a new identity and became Malcolm X, a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Now he had a God to love and obey and a white devil responsible for his plight. Many Negro prisoners accepted the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammad, for similar reasons. Excluded from American society, they are drawn to another one, the Nation of Islam. (This analysis of why Malcolm joined the Muslims is mine, for although Malcolm writes about Muslim ideas, nowhere does he discuss the reasons for his conversion beyond a surface level.)

Out of prison, Malcolm, while remaining religious, arrived at a balanced view of the more fantastic elements of Elijah's teachings and a deeper understanding of one of the driving forces: "So many of the survivors whom I knew as tough hyenas and wolves of the streets in the old days now were so pitiful. They had known all the angles, but beneath that surface they were poor ignorant, untrained men; life had eased up on them and hyped them. . . . I was thankful to Allah that I had become a Muslim and escaped their fate."

Alex Haley, who assisted Malcolm with the book, rightly commends him for deciding not to rewrite the first parts of the book and make it a polemic against his old leader, although in the interim they had broken and now were in competition with each other. As a result, the book interestingly shows changes in Malcolm's thinking.

After seven years in prison, Detroit Red emerged as Malcolm X and was soon to be the brightest star of the Nation of Islam. But as in every conversion, the man himself was not entirely reborn. Malcolm brought with him his traits of the past—the shrewd and protective instincts learned on the ghetto streets, combined now with the language and thoughts of the great philosophers of Western culture he applied from reading Hegel, Kant, and Nietzsche, and great Negro intellectuals like Du Bois. Remaining, too, with his burning ambition to succeed, was the rebellious anger of his youth for being denied a place in society commensurate with his abilities. But on the other side of the coin was a desire for fraternity, family and respectability.

Because of his ability, he was sent to New York, where he struck a responsive chord with a great many Harlem Negroes. The Nationalist sects provided an arena of struggle for power and status denied lower-class Negroes in the outside world.

But the same qualities that made him a successful ghetto organizer soon brought him into conflict with other Muslim leaders, especially Elijah's children and prospective heirs. They saw Malcolm as a threat to their domain and apparently were able to convince Elijah that there was a threat to himself as well. For although Malcolm always gave corollary credit to Elijah—and the limits set upon him by Elijah's demands made many underestimate the exceptional nature of his mind—he could not totally constrain his brilliance, pride or ambition. "Only by being two people could I have worked harder in the service of the Nation of Islam. I had every gratification that I wanted. I had helped bring about the progress and additional impact such that none could call us liars when we called Mr. Muhammad the most powerful black man in America."

As Malcolm's star rose higher in the western sky, Mr. Muhammad saw his eastern star setting and grew jealous. The conflict grew, although Malcolm made efforts toward conciliation. Finally, there was a total break that can be fatal to the erring Muslim who is cast away. Malcolm was aware of the dangers. "I hadn't hustled in the streets for nothing. I knew I was being set up . . . As any official in the Nation of Islam would instantly have known, any death-talk for me could have been approved of—if not actually initiated—by only one man." Later, just before his death, Malcolm said the attempt to murder him would come from a much greater source than the Muslims; he never revealed about whom he was talking.

Under a death sentence and without money or any substantial organization, Malcolm opted for action, although it was unclear whether he was running away from or toward something as he began another phase of his odyssey—a pilgrimage to Mecca where he became El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Throughout his many conversions and transformations, he never was more American than during his trip to Mecca. Because his ankles were not flexible enough, he was unable to sit properly cross-legged on the traditional Muslim rug with the others, and at first he shrank from reaching into the common food pot. Like many American tourists, he projected desires for hospitality

and fraternity, frustrated at home, on the Muslims he met, most of whom he could not communicate with because of the language barrier. Back in America, he acknowledged that it would be a long time before the Negro was ready to make common struggle with the Africans and Arabs.

In Mecca, Malcolm also dramatically announced that he had changed his view on integration, because he had seen true brotherhood there between black and white Muslims. In reality he had begun changing his attitude on integration and the civil rights movement many months before as the divisions between him and Elijah Muhammad widened. Part-way through the book his attacks on the movement became muted, and in the epilogue Haley concludes that Malcolm "had a reluctant admiration for Dr. Martin Luther King."

The roots of Malcolm's ambivalence were much more profound than personal opportunism. In a touching confession of dilemma he told Haley, " 'the so-called moderate' civil rights organizations avoided him as 'too militant' and the 'so-called militants' avoided him as 'too moderate.' 'They won't let me turn the corner!' he once exclaimed. 'I'm caught in a trap!' " Malcolm was moving toward the mainstream of the civil rights movement when his life was cut short, but he still had quite a way to go. His anti-Semitic comments are a symptom of this malaise.

Had he been able to "turn the corner," he would have made an enormous contribution to the struggle for equal rights. As it was, his contribution was substantial. He brought hope and a measure of dignity to thousands of despairing ghetto Negroes. His "extremism" made the "mainstream" civil rights groups more respectable by comparison and helped them wrest substantial concessions from the power structure. Malcolm himself clearly understood the complicated role he played. At a Selma rally, while Dr. King was in jail, Malcolm said, "Whites better be glad Martin Luther King is rallying the people because other forces are waiting to take over if he fails." Of course, he never frightened the racists and the reactionaries as much as he made liberals feel uncomfortable, and moderates used his extremism as an excuse for inaction.

Behind the grim visage on television that upset so many white Americans there was a compassionate and often gentle man with a sense of humor. A testament to his personal honesty was that he died broke and money had to be raised for his funeral and family.

Upset by the comments in the African and Asian press criticizing the United States government for Malcolm's fate, Carl T. Rowan, Director of the United States Information Agency, held up some foreign papers and told a Washington audience, according to Alex Haley, ". . . 'All this about an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic." Yes, all this and more, before we can understand. Malcolm's autobiography, revealing little-known aspects of his life and character, makes that tortured journey more understandable.

One of the book's shortcomings is that M. S. Handler and Haley, in their sensitive and insightful supplementary comments, make no comprehensive estimate of Malcolm X as a political leader. His often conflicting roles in the civil rights movement are described rather than analyzed. Perhaps this couldn't be helped, for Haley writes that Malcolm wanted a chronicler, not an interpreter. Obviously, Malcolm was not ready to make a synthesis of his ideas and an evaluation of his political role.

Shortly after Malcolm's death Tom Kahn and I wrote in New America and Dissent: "Now that he is dead, we must resist the temptation to idealize Malcolm X, to elevate charisma to greatness. History's judgment of him will surely be ambiguous. His voice and words were cathartic, channeling into militant verbiage emotions that otherwise might have run a violently destructive course. But having described the evil, he had no program for attacking it. With rare skill and feeling he articulated angry subterranean moods more widespread than any of us like to admit. But having blown the trumpet, he could summon, even at the very end, only a handful of followers."

Of course we cannot judge political effectiveness by numbers alone, but we cannot ignore his inability to build a movement. As a spokesman for Negro anger and frustration, he left his mark on history, but as a militant political leader he failed—and the Negro community needed both. Till the end, his program was a maze of contradictions. He was a brilliant psychologist when it came to articulating the emotions and thoughts of ghetto Negroes, but he knew virtually nothing about economics, and more important, his program had no relevance to the needs of lower-class Negroes. His conception of the economic roots of the problem is reflected in such remarks as "it is because black men do not own and control their community retail establishments that they cannot stabilize their own communities." And he advocates, as a solution, that Negroes who buy so many cars and so much expensive whiskey should own automobile franchises and distilleries. Malcolm was urging Negroes to pool their resources into small business establishments at a time when small businesses were declining under the pressure of big business and when an unplanned technological revolution is creating massive unemployment for unskilled Negroes. Mal-

colm's solutions were in fact almost a mirror image of many proposals made by white economic moderates; those advocates of "self-help" without a massive program for jobs remind me of no one so much as those black nationalist sects and their "build it yourself" black economy without capital. In short, Malcolm's economic program was not radical. It was, in fact, petty bourgeois.

Malcolm got a wide hearing in the ghetto because large sections of the Negro working class were being driven into the "underclass" and made part of the rootless mass by the vicissitudes of the economy. He articulated the frustration and anger of these masses, and they admired his outspoken attack on the racists and white hypocrites. But while thousands came to his funeral (I was there, too, to pay my respects), few joined his organization. Nor should it be surprising that the Negro masses did not support his proposed alliance of black Americans, Africans, and Arabs, including such leaders as Prince Faisal. For what did a Harlem Negro, let alone an Arab Bedouin, have in common with a feudal prince like Faisal? And at home Malcolm maintained an uneasy coexistence with the Harlem political machine. Today Malcolm's organization, the OAAU, hardly exists. In addition, he never clearly understood that as progress was made toward social integration, the problem for America's Negroes would become just as much one of class as of race.

Malcolm was with the Negro masses, but he was not of them. His experience and ambitions separated him from working-class Negroes. But to say this is not enough. In a sense Malcolm's life was tragic on a heroic scale. He had choices but never took the easy or comfortable ones. If he had, he might today be, as he says, a successful lawyer, sipping cocktails with other members of the black bourgeoisie. He chose instead to join the Negro masses who never had this freedom of choice. And, before his death he was working toward a more creative approach to the problems of the ghetto. Perhaps he might have been successful in "turning this corner."

After reflecting on the old days at Mosque 7, shortly before he was killed, Malcolm told Haley, "That was a bad scene, brother. The sickness and madness of those days—I'm glad to be free of them. It's a time for martyrs now. And if I'm to be one, it will be in the cause of brotherhood."

Our journey through the madness of racism continues, and there is much we can learn about both the sickness and the cure from Malcolm X.



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Jury Selection Is Lagging In Malcolm X Murder Case

Defense and prosecution lawyers failed yesterday to pick any more jurors in the case of three men accused of slaying Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader.

The lawyers questioned half a dozen prospects in an abbreviated session in Supreme Court. The court will convene for a full day today, beginning at 10:30 A.M.

The defendants are accused of the fatal shooting of Malcolm on Feb. 21, 1965, as he addressed a gathering in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway.

The one juror chosen so far is George Carter, a Negro chemist. He was picked Wednesday.

The defendants, who are being tried for first-degree murder, are Norman 3X Butler, 26 years old, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, and Thomas Hagan, 22, of Paterson, N. J.

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Malcolm X Trial Focuses On Religion

By LARRY VAN GELDER
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Religious belief loomed today as a crucial element in the trial of three men—two of them described by police as Black Muslim "enforcers"—for the murder of black nationalist leader Malcom X.

As examination of prospective jurors entered its third day in Criminal Court, both defense and prosecution were expected to pursue the line of questioning employed yesterday when no talesman were chosen.

Three of the five men and women examined were questioned about their belief in a Supreme Being, and two were dismissed when they told the court they did not believe in such a deity. A woman who did was questioned extensively about whether it would make a difference if a person affirmed to tell the truth rather than swearing it, and was also questioned about Islam.

3 Postponements

Charged with the assassination of Malcolm X last Feb. 21 before 400 persons gathered in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. off Broadway are:

Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and the two alleged "enforcers," Norman 3X Butler, 25, of 661 Rosedale Ave., and Thomas 15X Johnson, of 932 Bronx Park South, both the Bronx.

Their trial, originally expected to begin late last summer, was finally placed on the court calendar for December. But it was postponed because the court did not wish to inconvenience jurors at Christmas time. The start of the subway strike brought another postponement.

Hustler's Career

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., son of a West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist Minister on Sunday and a back-to-africa movement organizer the rest of the week, was 39 years old when he was shot to death.

In prison for burglary at 21 after a career as a petty hustler, Malcolm seized on the teaching of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader.

Following his release from prison, the eloquent Malcolm rose rapidly in the Muslim ranks, reaching such stature that he was regarded as a threat to Elijah's leadership. He was expelled from Muhammad's Nation of Islam after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, an event he described as a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

Mecca Pilgrimage

Many observers believed Elijah had used the Kennedy remarks as a pretext for ridding himself of a dangerous rival. Malcolm then made a

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Wick
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

6 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

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Malcolm X
3 on trial in assassination

pilgrimage to Mecca, where he became El-Hajj Malik El Shabazz.

From the time of his split with Elijah, Malcolm was subjected to a series of threats on his life. He traveled with bodyguards, but he had concluded early in his life that he would die violently.

And on a Sunday last February, he did.

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MALCOLM X FEARED DEATH FROM 2 SIDES

Malcolm X believed that both the white power structure and the Black Muslims wanted to see him dead, a witness said yesterday at the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm.

The testimony, which supported the state's contention that the assailants were trigger men for the "black supremacy" Muslim cult, prompted demands for a mistrial by lawyers for the defendants. These were denied by Justice Charles Marks.

The statement was made under cross-examination by George Whitney, 33 years old, of 223 West 121st Street. Mr. Whitney stated earlier that he had left the Muslims, in which he bore the name of George 23X, with Malcolm, who set up the rival Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the organization of Afro-American unity.

In the afternoon, the prosecution added another piece to its mosaic of identifications of the three defendants — Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

A witness, Jasper Davis, stated that it was Butler, seated next to him at the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21 who jumped up and gave the signal for what Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody said was the re-arranged assassination plan.

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Drama, Emotion Accompany Malcolm X's Widow to Trial

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

For 13 emotion-laden minutes, Mrs. Betty Shabazz told a jury of nine men and three women yesterday what she knew of the murder of her husband, Malcolm X, in the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21.

Then, when attorneys for the three men accused of the shotgun-pistol assassination declined to cross-examine her, a court attendant led her toward the exit.

As she passed behind the table where the three clean-cut young Negro defendants had sat for nearly six weeks, she stopped and turned toward them.

"They killed my husband," she said in a low, quavering voice. "They killed him."

The attendant took her arm and led her toward the exit but she stopped again.

"They had no right to kill my husband," she said.

The dramatic incident brought an immediate warning from Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks that the jury should not consider statements made by the widow after she left the stand as part of the evidence in the case.



Betty Shebazz

Actually, she did not identify as her husband's killers Norman 3X Butler, 26; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30; or Thomas Hagan, 22, also known as Talmadge Mayer.

According to her testimony, the 30-year-old Mrs. Shabazz did not see Malcolm killed and was not immediately aware of the Black Nationalist leader's death.

Dressed in black, the attractive widow was brought to the stand at 12:20 p. m. by assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody immediately after her arrival in the Criminal Courts Building.

Under questioning by Mr. Dermody, she said she had arrived at the ballroom with "my four babies" shortly before 3 p. m. Her daughters at that time were aged 6, 4, 2, and 6 months. Twin daughters were born seven months later.

She and the children were in a booth at the right of the stage and when she heard her husband give a Muslim greeting to the 400 persons in the audience, she said.

"A few minutes later I saw someone stand and shout in a loud and demanding voice, 'Take your hand out of my pocket.'"

She said her husband's bodyguards had moved from the stage toward the disturbance and she heard Malcolm say something to the effect that everything would be all right.

Then she heard shots fired, chairs falling and people shouting.

She pushed her crying babies babies under a bench to protect them. Then, ~~a loud gasp~~ caused her to look toward the stage.

"I didn't see my husband. I started running toward the stage. but they wouldn't let me down there."

Eventually, the bodyguards permitted her on the stage and she saw her husband's body.

After testifying that she accompanied the body to the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and later formally identified it at the morgue, she left the stand.

Throughout her brief appearance on the stand, Mrs. Shabazz had glared at the three defendants. After she left the courtroom, William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, demanded a mistrial on the ground that, throughout her testimony, she was "staring intently and icily at the defendants." Justice Marks denied the motion.

The prosecution contends that Nagan and Butler created the disturbance in the audience, that Johnson then fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm X and fled while the other two pumped pistol bullets into him.

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Malcolm X's Widow Scores Suspects

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

In a voice of despair and steely hatred, the widow of Malcolm X yesterday denounced the three men who are on trial for his murder.

Then, leaving the witness stand in Supreme Court, she halted a few feet from the table at which they were seated and cried out, "They killed my husband!"

She tried to turn toward them, but two court attendants seized her by the arms and hurried her to the doorway. Even while they tugged at her, she exclaimed, "They killed him. They had no right to kill my husband."

The outburst followed less than 10 minutes of gentle questioning by Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody. She was not asked to identify the defendants as being in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway, last Feb. 21, when the murder took place, and she was not subjected to cross-examination.

The six defense lawyers immediately rushed to the bench to protest and Justice Charles Marks, who is presiding, told the jury of nine men and three women:

"When the last witness left the witness stand she made some statements that may or may not have been audible to you. I direct you to disregard them."

When the afternoon session convened, William C. Chance, lawyer for Norman 3X Butler, one of the accused, formally moved for a mistrial on the further grounds that the widow, who calls herself Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the Moslem name that Malcolm assumed after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1963, was "staring intently and icily at the defendants" throughout her testimony.

"I watched the defendant intently from a distance of two and a half feet," Justice Marks replied in denying the application, "and it was my observation that she looked straight ahead."

Mrs. Shabazz was composed during her long-awaited appearance in the trial, which goes into its sixth week today. A tall, well-spoken woman in her early thirties, she wore a simple black suit, black pumps, a black velvet hat and a pearl necklace.

She lives with her six young daughters—twins were born in October—in a house in Mount Vernon that was purchased with gifts of money after the murder.

Sitting with her hands folded in her lap and her back straight in the witness chair, she told the jury about removing her children's snow suits as her husband gave the Moslem salutation, "Salaam Aleikum," to the 400 persons in the audience at the ballroom.

"Then a lot of things were happening all at once," she said. "Chairs falling, people shouting. Then there was a succession of shots. . . . My babies started crying. They wanted to know if someone was going to kill us. . . . I was trying to quiet them. I pushed them under the bench and I covered the bench with my body."

"And what happened then?" asked Mr. Dermody.

"I heard a gasp," she said. "I looked up at the stage and I couldn't see my husband. I ran to the stage, but they wouldn't let me through. Then I saw him, sprawled on his back."

The prosecution contends that the murder was committed by Butler, Thomas 15X Johnson and Talmadge Hayer, who is also known as Thomas Hagan, all of whom are allegedly members of the Black Muslims, the organization that Malcolm broke with in the year before his death.

In the corridor outside the courtroom in the Criminal Courts Building, leaflets were being distributed announcing a "commemoration day solemn march" on Sunday in memory of Malcolm X. Among its sponsors were listed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, HARYOU-ACT, and many other civil rights and black nationalist groups.

The march will begin at 10 A.M. at Lennox Avenue and 110th Street and go from there to the ballroom.

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75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

They Walk to Where He Was Slain a Year Ago Today

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 110th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke."

He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management had refused the group's application to hire the hall.

The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added.

The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape.

"Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised fists.

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MALCOLM 2/16 NX

NEW YORK (UPI)--CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM ONE OF THREE MEN CHARGED WITH MALCOLM X'S ASSASSINATION WERE LINKED WEDNESDAY WITH A .45 CALIBER WEAPON USED TO MURDER THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER.

DET. JOSEPH REISCH, A BALLISTICS EXPERT, SAID THAT EXTRACTOR MARKS FOUND ON .45 CALIBER CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM THOMAS HAGAN, 22, OF 347 MARSHALL ST., PATERSON,N.J., MATCHED MARKINGS ON THE WEAPON USED TO GUN DOWN MALCOLM X LAST FEB. 21.

TESTIFYING AS THE 21ST PROSECUTION WITNESS IN THE FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL WHICH IS INTO ITS SIXTH WEEK, REISCH SAID THAT A MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF THE SHELL CASING OF THE CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM HAGAN MATCHED THREE SHELLS FOUND IN THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM, 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, WHERE MALCOLM WAS SLAIN.

REISCH SAID THE EXTRACTOR MARKS ON A GUN ARE "SIGNIFICANT AND PECULIAR TO THAT PARTICULAR WEAPON." HE SAID THE MARKINGS ARE SIMILAR TO AN INDIVIDUAL'S FINGERPRINTS.

POLICE CONFISCATED A CARTRIDGE CLIP CONTAINING FOUR .45 CALIBER BULLETS FROM HAGAN WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED MINUTES AFTER MALCOMB X'S ASSASSINATION. HAGAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD AS HE ATTEMPTED TO FLEE THE BALLROOM. POLICE LATER HAD TO RESCUE HIM FROM AN IRATE MOB OF MALCOLM X FOLLOWERS.

A FINGERPRINT EXPERT TESTIFIED EARLIER THAT HAGAN'S THUMB PRINT MATCHED LATENT PRINTS TAKEN FROM A SMOKE BOMB THAT IGNITED IN THE BALLROOM MOMENTS BEFORE THE BEARDED, 39-YEAR-OLD MALCOLM X WAS KILLED.

THE OTHER TWO DEFENDANTS ARE THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 29, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26.

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MALCOLM 2/17 NX
ADV FOR AMS MON FEB 21
BY STANLEY S. SCOTT
UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK(UPI)--ONE YEAR AGO MONDAY A TERRIFYING VOLLEY OF GUNFIRE TORE OUT THE LIFE OF RACIST LEADER MALCOLM LITTLE, THE 39-YEAR-OLD BEARDED BLACK NATIONALIST KNOWN TO MILLIONS AS MALCOLM X.

IN A MANHATTAN COURTROOM, THREE ALLEGED ASSASSINS ARE ON TRIAL, CHARGED WITH FIRING 19 MISSILES INTO HIS BODY IN A "PRE-ARRANGED" PLOT AS ABOUT 400 SPECTATORS LOOKED ON FEB. 21, 1965.

THE SIX-WEEK-OLD FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IS MARKED BY A TIGHT SECURITY GUARD AND A METHODICAL SEARCH OF ALL SPECTATORS ENTERING THE 84-SEAT COURTROOM ON THE 13TH FLOOR OF THE CRIMINAL COURTS BUILDING.

MILD-MANNERED SUPREME COURT JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS AT THE OUTSET OF THE TRIAL, ORDERED THAT THREE GUARDS BE SEATED DIRECTLY BEHIND THE DEFENDANTS.

THE SECURITY MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO GUARD AGAINST POSSIBLE RETALIATION BY MALCOLM X SYMPATHIZERS.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY VINCENT J. DERMODY HAS CALLED MORE THAN 20 WITNESSES, INCLUDING SOME WHO HAVE TESTIFIED THEY SAW THE DEFENDANTS INSIDE THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM AT 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, FIRING SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S BODY. DERMODY HAS POINTED THE FINGER OF GUILT AT THE THREE ALLEGED BLACK MUSLIM FOLLOWERS.

IN ORDERING THE STRINGENT SECURITY MEASURES, MARKS POSSIBLY WAS ATTEMPTING TO AVOID A REPEAT OF A VIOLENT COURTROOM OUTBURST THAT OCCURRED IN CHICAGO IN 1935.

IN THAT INCIDENT SOME 200 BLACK MUSLIMS STORMED A COURTROOM WHILE ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS WAS ON TRIAL. BEFORE THE MELEE WAS OVER, ONE PATROLMAN WAS DEAD AND 11 HAD BEEN INJURED. TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE SHOT IN THE CLASH AND 40 WERE SENT TO PRISON.

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THE THREE NEATLY DRESSED DEFENDANTS HERE APPEAR CALM AND UNMOVED AS THE DAMAGING EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO PILE UP AGAINST THEM.

ONE OF THE THREE, NORMAN 3 X BUTLER, 26, OF NEW YORK, SPENDS HIS TIME IN COURT READING THE WORLD ALMANAC AND SKETCHING PICTURES OF HIS COURT-APPOINTED DEFENSE LAWYER.

THOMAS 15 X JOHNSON, 29, ALSO OF NEW YORK, HAS MAINTAINED A FACIAL MIXTURE OF SMILES AND DEEP SHOCK WHENEVER A WITNESS ADVANCES TO THE DEFENSE TABLE AND ACCUSES HIM OF FIRING TWO BLASTS FROM A SAWED-OFF SHOTGUN INTO MALCOLM'S CHEST. HE KEEPS A GUARDED SMILE FOR BLACK MUSLIM "BROTHERS" ATTENDING THE TRIAL.

THE THIRD DEFENDANT, 22-YEAR-OLD THOMAS HAGAN OF PATERSON N.J., SHIES AWAY FROM JOHNSON AND BUTLER, POSSIBLY FOR GOOD REASONS.

PETER L.F. SABBATINO, HAGAN'S DEFENSE LAWYER, CONTENDS THAT HIS CLIENT IS THE VICTIM OF "MOB IDENTIFICATION."

SABBATINO ASSAILS TESTIMONY THAT HAGAN WAS A MEMBER OF THE BLACK MUSSLEMS ALONG WITH BUTLER AND JOHNSON.

HE CHARGES THAT HAGAN WAS A VICTIM OF ERRONEOUS IDENTFICATION WHEN HE WAS SHOT IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD WHILE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE AUDUBON BALLROOM.

ONCE A PROTEGE OF SELF-STYLED PROPHET ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, MALCOLM BROKE AWAY FROM THE MUSLIM SECT MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE HIS DEATH TO FORM HIS OWN SPLINTER GROUP, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY.

MALCOLM DISCARDED ATHEISM AND ACCEPTED MUHAMMAD'S RACIST TEACHINGS WHILE SERVING A SENTENCE IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON AT CONCORD, MASS. HE ONCE SAID HE "KICKED" NARCOTICS ADDICTION WITHIN 24 HOURS AFTER ALIGNING WITH MUHAMMAD.

A WEEK BEFORE HIS DEATH MALCOLM'S NEW YORK, HOME, ONE OF THE RENT-FREE FRINGE BENEFITS HE ENJOYED WHILE IN THE GOOD GRACES OF MUHAMMAD, WAS ROCKED BY FIRE BOMBS IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

MALCOLM LATER HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE AND TOLD REPORTERS THAT BLACK MUSLIM FOLLOWERS WERE PLOTTING AGAINST HIS LIFE.

ASKED BY A REPORTER IF THE SO-CALLED "CONSIPRACY" COULD BE HALTED, MALCOLM RETORTED THAT MUHAMMAD COULD STOP THE PLOT BY "RAISING HIS HAND."

MALCOLM REPORTEDLY HAD PLANNED TO REVEAL AT THE FATAL RALLY THE NAMES OF THOSE WHOM HE SAID WERE TRYING TO KILL HIM. A RED NOTE BOOK PIERCED WITH THREE BULLET HOLES WAS TAKEN FROM HIS LEFT BREAST POCKET AFTER HIS DEATH. THE BOOK HAS BEEN OFFERED INTO EVIDENCE.

DERMODY HAS CHARGED THAT BUTLER AND HAGAN, ARMED WITH .9MM AND .45 AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, INFILTRATED THE RALLY AND CREATED A "DIVERSIONARY" COMMOTION MIDWAY IN THE BALLROOM TO ALLOW JOHNSON THE OPPORTUNITY TO SNEAK TO THE STAGE AND SHOOT MALCOLM WITH THE SHOTGUN.

DERMODY IS ATTEMPTING TO PROVE THAT HAGAN AND BUTLER FOLLOWED JOHNSON TO THE STAGE AND PUMPED SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S PRONE BODY.

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Prosecution Ends Case In Malcolm X Murder

A public-relations man who was a free-lance radio reporter a year ago yesterday became the 24th and last prosecution witness against the three young men accused of the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Charles Moore told a jury of nine men and three women of seeing a man firing "an automatic pistol" in the direction of the Audubon Ballroom stage where Malcolm was standing, of running to a telephone to call his radio station and then seeing the man shot in the leg as he ran from the scene.

Mr. Moore identified the man he saw as Talmadge Nayer or Thomas Hagan, 22, who is on trial for the murder with Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody rested his case after the testimony. The defense will open on Monday, the first anniversary of Malcolm's death.

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Unanswered—Motive In Malcolm X Murder

By James W. Sulli[illegible]
of The Herald Tribune Staff

The prosecution's case against three young men accused of the murder of Malcolm X ground to a close last week offering answers to all the questions except the big one: Who engineered the assassination of Black Nationalism's ablest leader?

Since that afternoon 364 days ago, when Malcolm's riddled body was wheeled out of the Audubon Ballroom and he was pronounced dead at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, the assumption has been that the killing was engineered by the Black Muslims.

There certainly had been bad blood between Malcolm and the Black Muslims. Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm, his most effective minister, in 1963 for remarks made after President Kennedy's assassination, and later expelled him. Malcolm resented that, and members of his political and religious organizations were in violent clashes with the Muslims at various times.

After the killing, various of Malcolm's followers talked of task forces heading for Chicago to take revenge on the elderly Elijah, but no attempt was ever made on his life.

The Muslims publicly denied any connection with the murder, but few officials gave them any support and the general public has considered them guilty of it.

However, at no time during the six weeks that Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody has presented his evidence in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks has he given any evidence of a motive for the murder.

MUSLIMS

Several witnesses identified as Muslims the three defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 26, Thomas 15X Johnson, 29, and Thomas Hagan or Talmadge Hayer, 22, but none claimed to know or even implied that their religious leaders might have sent them to kill Malcolm.

The only link between Malcolm's death and the Muslims was a tenuous one, from George 28X Whitney, former member of the Fruit of Islam, the elite Muslim security corps, and later bodyguard to Malcolm. Whitney said Malcolm had continuously expressed fears that he would be killed, "saying that the power structure and the Black Muslims were both interested in his death."

Attorneys demanded to know whether he said "white power structure" or "black power structure," but Whitney replied that he "just said power structure."

In Harlem, where rumors grow faster than grass does in more arable locations, the theory that the Black Muslims ordered Malcolm's execution is widely, but not unanimously held. Or [illegible] an ultra-liberal can find support [illegible] for a theory that Malcolm was killed on orders of the United States government. If you are a conservative, some residents will agree with your theory that the killers were agents of the "Peking Reds."

Both the latter theories have their roots in Malcolm's international activities in the period before his death. He had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and a speaking tour in Europe and Africa and was friendly with representatives of Arab nations assigned to the United Nations.

THEORIES

The ultra-liberals saw in his death the Central Intelligence Agency's reaction to his plans for a united Arab and African people which would include Americans of African descent. The conservatives maintained that he had been supported by the Chinese-Cuban branch of the Communist party and that he was killed because he was moving away from the subversive racist line which he had been paid to preach.

This week, the jury of nine men and three women in Justice Marks' court probably will hear another theory—that Malcolm died as the result of a conspiracy by his bodyguards.

When a celebrity is killed at an appearance before several hundred persons, the person charged with the crime can expect a parade of eye-witnesses to accuse him. Butler, Johnson and Hayer have seen such a parade.

Except for official witnesses, nearly every one who has come to the witness stand has testified to some part of what happened in the ballroom that day.

Hayer and Butler have been identified as the men who created a disturbance in the audience. Johnson has been identified as the man who ran to the stage during the disturbance and fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm. Hayer and Butler have been re-identified as the men who then ran to the stage and pumped pistol shots into the fallen Malcolm.

Under such circumstances, defense attorneys have cross-examined intensively, hoping to shake the eye-witnesses and, occasionally, having some success. Some of the questions have been classics, such as that asked by Butler's attorney, William Chance, of Cary 2X Thomas, one of Malcolm's bodyguards:

"Have you at any time denied to anybody that you killed Jesus Christ?"

Because Mr. Dermody objected and Justice Marks sustained him, the audience was never treated to an answer.

However, the trend of the questioning by Mr. Chance and Peter L. F. Sabbatino, attorney for Hayer, has indicated they will attempt to prove that Malcolm was the victim of a conspiracy by his own guards.

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As witnesses have admitted that they were part of the security guard at the meeting and, in some cases, were armed, the defense attorneys have hammered questions at them about their failure to protect Malcolm. Thomas, who said he was carrying a pistol, received question after question on cross-examination about why he failed to shoot. His only answer was that he was confused and the affair happened too quickly.

NO!

But Thomas, like the other bodyguards, reacted with an emphatic "No!" when the defense attorneys asked him if he had conspired in the assassination. That question was the only one of hundreds thrown at him which caused him to lean forward in the witness chair, grasp the microphone and bring his mouth up close to it before he answered.

The defense opens this week. Apparently, there will be few witnesses, but Mr. Sabbatino has said Hayer will take the stand, Mr. Chance has said Butler will take the stand and Attorney Joseph Pinsksy has said Johnson will take the stand.



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Malcolm X:

Recollections of a Visit

By Jack Barnes

Robert Penn Warren interviewed a man named Malcolm X in June 1964, and I helped to interview a man with the same name in January 1965. I phrase it that way because, after reading Warren's account, I almost wondered if we had interviewed the same man. Of course, the difference was really in the interviewers, in their attitudes and assumptions.

Warren was born and raised in the South and, as a young man, believed in segregation. He has spent much of his life in the North as a writer and teacher, and is now against segregation. Stirred by the Negro upsurge, he wanted to find out more about what Negroes think. So he set out to interview many of them for his book, *Who Speaks for the Negro?* (Random House, 1965).

His approach is that of a liberal. One of his favorite questions of the people he interviewed was did they think that it would have been a good idea to have compensated the Confederate slaveholders for the slaves emancipated; he seemed to hit it off best with those who said it would have been a good idea. He evidently was smart enough to omit this question with Malcolm, or at least he doesn't mention it.

Warren goes to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem for his interview with Malcolm. "I am admitted by a strong-looking young Negro-man, dressed impeccably [illegible]; he is silent but watchful, smooth-faced, impassive, of ominous dignity." (Not being a poet, as is Warren, I find it hard to conceive a dignity that is "ominous.") Malcolm shakes Warren's hand, "with the slightest hint of a smile." Warren looks him over:

"The most striking thing, at first, about that face is a sort of stoniness, a rigidity, as though beyond all feeling. When the lips move to speak you experience a faint hint of surprise. When — as I discover later — he scores a point and the face suddenly breaks into his characteristic wide, leering, merciless smile, with the powerful even teeth gleaming beyond the very pale pink lips, the effect is, to say the least, startling. But beyond the horn-rimmed glasses always the eyes are watching, pale brown or hazel, some tint of yellow. You cannot well imagine them closed in sleep."

Felt Dismissed

"After the handshake, he turns to his aide I am, for the moment, dismissed, and wander across the room, inspecting it." ". . . as he stands there across the expanse of bare, ill-swept floor, conferring with the ominous attendant . . . I am watching him, and he knows I am watching him, but he gives no sign." Malcolm's failure to give a sign that he knows Warren is watching him is clearly as sinister as the "attendant" has now become.

"Finally" Malcolm beckons Warren into the tiny room used as his office. "Malcolm X tells me that he has only a few minutes, that he has found that you waste a lot of time with reporters and then you don't get much space." And so the interview begins.

It seemed somewhat different when Barry Sheppard and I interviewed Malcolm in the same office on Jan. 18, 1965, a month before his assassination. Our interview was taped for the *Young Socialist* (March-April, 1965; also in the pamphet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, Young Socialist Pamphlet, 1965.)



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MALCOLM X: RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT

The thing that struck us first was how tired Malcolm looked. (In the *Autobiography*, Alex Haley describes the 18-hour schedule he followed.) At one point toward the end of the interview, a yawn can be heard on the tape, followed by the apology, "Excuse my tired mind." We were a little uncomfortable at first, feeling that Malcolm might need rest more urgently than we needed an interview and, because this was the first time we had met, there was some over-politeness on both sides. Malcolm sent out for coffee for the three of us, making his familiar joke about his preference for light coffee, and after that the atmosphere warmed up.

After the formal interview, we offered to type it up and bring it back, edited to fit our space requirements, for his final check and corrections. We also asked him if he would like the Young Socialist Alliance to organize a national speaking tour of campuses for him later in the year. He expressed interest in this, but did not commit himself, saying he would discuss it the next time we got together.

Trap Fails

Let us return to poor Warren. He tries to catch Malcolm in a contradiction, but Malcolm deftly avoids the trap and makes his own point. Warren's reaction:

"I discovered that that pale, dull yellowish face that had seemed so veiled, so stony, as though beyond all feeling, had flashed into its merciless, leering life — the sudden wolfish grin, the pale pink lips drawn hard back to show the strong teeth, the unveiled glitter of the eyes beyond the lenses, giving the sense that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise; that the eyes needed no help, that they suddenly see everything."

Malcolm had ruined his eyes reading by poor light at night while he was in prison, and says in the *Autobiography* that he had astigmatism. Never mind the facts — Warren senses "that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise" (an elaborate scheme for fooling liberals somehow). Warren didn't really need to look into Malcolm's eyes — he came to the interview convinced that Malcolm was racist, demagogic and opportunist ("He may end at the barricades, or in Congress. Or he might even end on the board of a bank"), and that is what he went away with.

True to Form

Malcolm knew the white liberal type very well, and he must have had to grin ("leer") when he saw how closely Warren was conforming to the type. And when Warren asks Malcolm "if he believes in political assassination" (!), it is not hard to see why Malcolm might "turn the hard, impassive face and veiled eyes" upon Warren and say, "I wouldn't know anything about that."

I returned to Malcolm's office less than a week after our interview, bearing the edited transcript Barry had made from the tape. (If we had known this would be the last thing we would get from him, we of course would not have shortened the transcript, even slightly.) Malcolm was talking to a young man in his inner office. While I waited, for about 10 minutes, one of Malcolm's co-workers, the only other person in the outer office, dozed at a reception desk. A small stack of *Militants* lay on the desk with a couple of *Times* on top.

As Malcolm read the transcript, he began to grin. When he came to the question about capitalism and the statement, "It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely," he said, "This is the farthest I've ever gone. They will go wild over this." I asked if he wanted to tone it down and, without hesitation, he answered no.

He said he felt the editing had sharpened up what he had originally said; that he had been tired when he gave the interview. He made very few changes and I said that would be the final copy, just as he had left it. He said, "Make any additional changes you want — it's fine. This is the kind of editing it's a pleasure to read."

Malcolm then began to talk about young revolutionaries he had met and been impressed by in Africa and Europe. He said he had a long list of them — he called them "contacts" — and would give me a copy so we could send them the issue of the *Young Socialist* that contained his interview. He also spoke about *The Militant*, and how often he had seen it abroad.

I told him I might be going to Algeria for the World Youth Festival (then scheduled for the spring of 1965) and might be able to meet some of his contacts there. He said, "Great, that would be a good experience; they have a hard time believing that revolutionists exist in the United States." We arranged that he would give me the list after the *Young Socialist* came off the press.

Campus Tour

I reminded him about our proposal for a national campus tour. This time he responded very favorably; he must have thought about it further and may have discussed it with some of his co-workers. He said he had learned from much experience of speaking on campus that students were in general the only whites that seemed to be open-minded. He said he was sure that the government would try to buy off the white students who were radical, that this was their main problem. He said they should "get in a closet" — away from the professors and the job offers from government and business — and think out their ideas more thoroughly and basically. They could travel the road before them in one of two ways, he said, "— as missionaries or as revolutionaries."

He asked a lot of questions about the Young Socialist Alliance — how many locals, where, what campuses? He wanted to know how long the tour would last; he said he could not make it until after his return from another trip abroad that he was committed to make, but that would be the best time. I said I was sure that on most campuses we would be able to get broader sponsorship than the YSA for his speeches, and he said he didn't care how broad or how narrow the sponsorship would be.

He asked me if I read French and then gave me a magazine from Paris with a story about his talk there in November 1964. He said he thought it was a communist magazine, and that "things are very different in Europe and Africa. There are communists and socialists all over, and no one makes a big deal out of it. They can't imagine how narrow-minded this country is."

View of Imperialism

Malcolm also spoke at some length about imperialism, along what Marxists might call Luxemburgian lines — how the West is in a real bind because the colonial revolution is cutting off places where imperialism can expand.

I felt completely at ease with Malcolm throughout this discussion, which lasted quite a while at his initiative. He grew quite excited at the thought of his African youth contacts getting the *Young Socialist* interview and at the possibility of my meeting them. I had no sense of "taking" his valuable time — he was giving it voluntarily, and not out of mere politeness.

It is inconceivable that he would be like that with a liberal. There would be no common points of departure, no common projects of any kind, for him to discuss with a liberal who felt, as Warren did, that he was accomplishing his mission when he got Malcolm to "admit" that he didn't "see in the American system the possibility of self-regeneration."

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(NEWS foto by Ed Clarity)
Marchers proceed along 125th St. in memorial to Malcolm X.

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A Year Later, Only 75 In Parade for Malcolm X

By WILLIAM RICE

Malcolm X, who, as fiery prime minister of the white-hating Black Muslims, drew throngs to Harlem street corners with his racist tirades, was almost alone in death yesterday.

Instead of the expected thousands, only 75 persons joined in a parade honoring the man who was born Malcolm Little and died in a rain of bullets under the name of El Hajki El Shabazz.

It was, as he said of the assassination of President Kennedy, a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

His Own Remark

It was that remark, many believe, that led to Malcolm's own assassination as he was about to address his following a year ago today in the Audubon Ballroom.

Elijah Muhammad, head of the Muslim group, suspended him for making it and, after a ban of several months, he formed his own black nationalist group.

Malcolm eventually modified his anti-white views and gained the hatred of the Black Muslims. Three men assertedly of that sect are on trial for his death in Supreme Court.

Memorial March

Leaders of yesterday's march, billed as "a solemn memorial march to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of El Haji Malik El Shabazz," had listed about 25 organizations in support of the procession. Among them, they said were the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League and Haryou-Act.

The march began at 110th St. and Lenox Ave. and, with several white-robed members of the Yoruba Temple, a voodoo sect, in the vanguard, continued through the streets of Harlem to the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th St., in Washington Heights.

After a brief rally outside the ballroom—to which they were denied entrance—the little group split up.

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Who Mourns Malcolm X?

By Rasa Gustaitis
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Only a Handful in Harlem Parade Note Anniversary of His Death

What had been billed as a solemn march to commemorate the death of Malcolm X turned out to be a small and lonely procession yesterday.

A year ago, 22,000 mourners had walked past the bier of the militant Black Nationalist who had come to represent Negro anger and growing racial pride to many in this country and abroad. But yesterday, in the midst of the trial of his alleged killers, not even 100 friends and admirers came to honor his memory.

As they marched to the beat of an African drum, behind voodoo priests in white wind-whipped garments, the streets of Harlem were deserted and hardly anyone even parted a curtain to gaze out a window.

'WHO CARES'

"This is showing us who really cares about black," remarked Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the leaders of the commemoration. The march was "a joint endeavor of various splinter groups," he said.

Nobody has actively tried to take over the leadership of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American UUity, and his followers have scattered since his death. Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, his sister, is officially his successor, but she spends much of her time in Boston and is rarely seen at the Hotel Theresa, where the group still has its headquarters.

Neither Mrs. Collins nor Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X who was also known as El Hajji Malik El Shabazz, were present yesterday. Mr. Wachuku said it had been "a trying week" for the widow.

Mrs. Shabazz had appeared in Supreme Court last week during the trial of the three men charged in the murder of her husband. She told how she shielded her children when a volley of shots hit Malcolm X on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom, before 300 spectators.

The prosecution has rested its case and the defense is to begin today. Charged in the shooting are Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, and Norman 3X Butler, 26.

Some of the shivering, bundled-up people who gathered in 13-degree weather on the corner of 110th St. and Lenox Avenue at 10 a. m. yesterday had learned about the march for "the Prince of our black captive non-selfgoverning people" from leaflets distributed outside the courtroom last week.

They waited until 11:30 a. m. when a line finally formed. Only 65 people were in it. There would have been 69, but four white sympathizers were told they could not take part.

"White people don't live in Harlem, they only own things in Harlem," explained Dan Watts, editor of Liberator magazine which co-sponsored the march.

"We were hoping white people wouldn't come," someone else said. "This is black."

Mr. Wachuku, wearing a red fez and carrying a carved stick, took the lead. The stick was a sawawisha, an African symbol for "the forces of equalization," that worked "by hand," Mr. Wachuku said.

Close behind him three marchers carried a red, yellow and green flag embroidered with an anhk, an ancient Egyptian symbol of "life and resurrection," according to a voodoo priest.

Then came Queen Mother Moore of the voodoo Temple Yoruba, who represented Yemoja, the goddess of motherhood. A large woman in black and white fur-trimmed cloak, red turban and red shoes, she said she was "everything my people are."

Behind her walked women in turbans and African haircuts, men with single earrings, a man in turban and djellabah, an African robe, and a string of others.

At 116th Street, seven other members from Temple Yoruba joined in. One beat a ceremonial drum, one carried a rifle, symbol of Ogun, the voodoo god of war. Baba Osergeman, the chief priest, carried a sword and an iru kere, an ox-tail stick symbolizing Obatala, the god of peace. Others held a white parasol with gold tassels.

Up Lenox Ave. they marched, past the Bethel Gospel, Pentacostal Assembly, Inc., Fritz's Bar and Grill, the Legal Aid Society, Dunbar Pawnbrokers, Glamor Pix Studios and the Truth Coffee Shop. Then along 145th Street to St. Nicholas Ave., up to 161st Street to Broadway and 166th Street, where the Audubon Ballroom, site of the murder, is. It was 1 p. m. when they arrived.

Mr. Wachuku said that a meeting inside had been planned but that the management had cancelled the group's reservation. He called for a boycott of the hall.

The brief ceremony outside took only five minutes. Queen Mother Moore held up a clenched fist and led a cry of "Uhuru!" (freedom). Moments later the street was empty again.

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POLICE GIVE TESTIMONY

Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — A series of detectives and technical witnesses have testified during the past week in the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X. The most important piece of evidence to emerge from all this testimony is the identification of a fingerprint of Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, one of the defendants, on a crude device set aflame in the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the shooting.

Roland B. Wallace, a 38-year-old member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, testified on Feb. 10 that he had just reentered the ballroom at the rear when shots rang out. Then his attention was attracted to a burning "smoke bomb." It was near a window at the rear on the right side facing the stage. Someone poured water on it and put it out.

Detective John J. Keeley testified that he found the wet device, a man's sock stuffed with matches and other material, later in the afternoon of Feb. 21, 1965 near where Wallace had seen it. He turned it over to Detective Edward Meagher who examined it for finger prints and other evidence.

Meagher took the witness stand next and said he found a usable fingerprint on a piece of unravelled film that was in the sock. He found no usable fingerprints on the shotgun or .45 caliber automatic that have been entered into evidence thus far in the trial.

Detective Robert Meyer testified on Feb. 11 that the finger print on the film and one taken from the left thumb of Hayer were "one and the same."

Dr. Milton Helpern, the city's chief medical examiner, took the stand the same day and described the results of the autopsy he had performed on the body of Malcolm X. The cause of death was multiple gunshot and bullet wounds in the chest, heart and aorta, he said. Malcolm X was hit by eight shotgun slugs and nine bullets from .45 caliber and 9 mm guns. The evidence indicated he was hit by the shotgun slugs while standing and by bullets from the other weapons while prone.

On Feb. 14 Detective James A. Scaringe, a ballistics expert, described a great many slugs and shells found at the scene of the assassination. Aside from the three types mentioned above, three .32 caliber bullets were found near the ballroom office door.

On the morning of Feb. 9 the second "secret" witness of the trial gave his testimony. The court was cleared of spectators and reporters before he appeared. Reportedly this witness is an FBI agent who was given the .45 caliber automatic that Hayer is alleged to have used by the first "secret" witness.

According to reliable sources the first "secret" witness testified on Feb. 3 that he picked up the .45 at the Audubon ballroom and turned it over to the FBI. He identified Norman (3X) Butler and at least one of the two other defendants.

Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro, who was originally in charge of the investigation, was questioned at length about a list of 119 names of the people questioned concerning the case when he testified on Feb. 9.

During his cross-examination by Hayer's attorney, Cavallaro mentioned that Reuben Francis, who was indicted for shooting Hayer but later disappeared, had been rearrested on Feb. 2, 1966 in Assistant District Attorney Dermody's office.

A spokesman for the district attorney's office said that Francis had been picked up by the FBI. He had forfeited $10,000 bail; and was now being held on $25,000 bail. A spokesman for the FBI denied any knowledge of Francis.

The number of spectators at the trial has dwindled over the weeks. Spectators are still being subjected to the practice of being frisked each time they enter the courtroom.

Slate N.Y. Memorial For Malcolm X

A memorial meeting for Malcolm X will be held on the first anniversary of his death, Monday evening, February 21, from 7 to 10 p.m. at P.S. 175, 178 W. 135th St. (between Seventh and Lenox Avenues) in New York City. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Malcolm X Memorial Committee, c/o Sylvester Leaks, 410 W. 110 St. The sponsors of the committee include such figures as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, and John Lewis.

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75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

They Walk to Where He Was Slain a Year Ago Today

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 110th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke."

He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management had refused the group's application to hire the hall.

The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added.

The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an fists.

orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape.

"Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised

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Judgment of Gods

By Murray Kempton



THE widow of the man we called Malcolm X and the police called Malcolm Little and his family called Malik Shabazz was a witness last week at the trial of the three young men the state says murdered him.

She turned out to be a monument of august simplicity, one white strand of pearls on the neck, the rest all black.

Malcolm X lived in the most ragged social setting known to Americans; yet he willed himself to be a great foreign prince. How odd to be reminded that, no matter where they are born or how they live, kings end up marrying queens.

"Betty Shabazz," she said to the stenographer. "S, like Sam, h, a, b, like boy, a, b, a, z, like zebra, z." "Sam," "Boy," the little nicknames white people used to call Negroes before history made us self-conscious; there is irony in every word spoken by a queen in exile.

She had gone to the Audubon Ballroom, she told Assistant District Attorney Dermody, with "my four babies" last Feb. 21 to sit in a box at her husband's last meeting.

She had watched her husband come to the stage and "give the customary greeting" and then a man stood up on the left hand and said something "in a loud and demanding voice."

Her husband had said everything would be all right, and then there was a shot and chairs falling and people running.

"My babies started crying and I was trying to quiet them. They ~~ated~~ to know if somebody wanted to kill us. I pushed ~~them under~~ a bench. I covered the bench with my body. One of them cried out they couldn't breathe or see. I turned to help quiet them and then I looked toward the stage and I couldn't see my husband."

As a presence she was magnificent; as a witness, she was of very little use even a queen, with the charge of four little girls, can be asked to observe very little else.

From behind the district attorney her look seemed fixed, brooding, without anger or hatred. She was looking at the defendants; and one of their counsel who bore its frontal force talked about that look as tho it had been a flame.

It was the terrible force of the assumption without much chance of knowledge that these were the murderers of her husband. And these three young men sat looking straight ahead, under the shadow of a curse that might have been a thousand years old because it was that impersonal and devoid of any sign of recognition.

And then, departing, she stopped right by the defendants and raised her arm. Who knows the motives of queens? Some of us thought she was about to strike them, and some of us that she was only about to remonstrate with them.

A court attendant took her elbow. "Let go of my arm," she said. She had begun at last to cry. "They killed my husband." Her "they" sounded as if she were talking about everybody. And then she was gone, and Judge Marks instructed the jury to disregard her final scene.

You doubted that any juror could fit an event of this size into his judgment of a criminal case. What is relevant about the anger of the gods at the absurdity of everything?

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Wife Alibis Suspect In Malcolm Killing

The Malcolm X trial, in which three members of the Black Muslim movement are accused of assassinating the black nationalist leader, begins its eighth week on Monday.

Yesterday the wife of one of the defendants, Norman 3X Butler, testified that her husband was at home in their Bronx apartment on the day the shotgun slaying took place in a Harlem ballroom.

Mrs. Butler, mother of four children, said her husband arrived home around noon and remained at home for the rest of the day. Malcolm X, who defected from the Black Muslims to set up a rival group, was slain around 3 p.m.

When asked by prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody how she could be sure of the time of her husband's arrival, she said: "My husband is being tried for murder. That's why I remember the time that day."

Other witnesses have placed her husband at the scene of the killing.

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Black Muslims Today—The Legacy of Malcolm X

'Nation of Islam' Wanes in Harlem

Only a year ago the Black Muslims were in the headlines, a major concern of whites and many Negroes alike. What has happened to the "Nation of Islam?" What effect did the slaying of Malcolm X have on it? How does world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay) figure in Black Muslim plans? For the answers, Leslie Whitten visited Black Muslim centers in key cities, talked to members of the sect and their opponents, had an exclusive interview with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims. This is the first article of a series.

By LESLIE H. WHITTEN

Hearst Headline Service Exclusive to The Journal-American

"I REMEMBER MALCOLM"

You hear it that way every time you mention the Muslims in Harlem. The gangling, reddish-haired man with the thick glasses made necessary by too much prison reading is a folk hero there, even though he has only been dead a year.

Wrong-headed often, undisputably brilliant, he boomed a minor anti-white cult into national prominence, split with its leader two years ago and was murdered Feb. 21, 1965 while making a speech to his followers.

Now, his own group—the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)—has withered. The Nation of Islam—popularly called "Black Muslims"—has faded from the news. Its rate of increase has slumped.

But Malcolm X—born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925—is still very much in the minds of those Negroes he entranced with his oratory and impressed with his courage.

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I remember Malcolm, too. Arguing civil rights with me shortly before the 1963 march on Washington, he waved a hand toward the Justice Department and said:

"The Negroes have been sugared to death by civil rights. When the sugar gets bitter in their mouths, they'll taste it our way."

Behind his articulate speech was a dash of contempt. It was there whenever I heard him talking to white men he didn't know. And because he was so intelligent, it hurt.

A FEW MONTHS after that interview, Malcolm, characteristically outspoken, called President Kennedy's death a case of "chickens coming home to roost." He was capable of even greater enormities.

Allegedly because of that statement, but more probably because he was gaining too much power in the family-bond Black Muslim movement, Elijah Muhammad, the sect's leader, silenced him.

His mosque was taken away and he began brooding over assassination. When it came in the crowded lecture hall, two men identified by police as Black Muslims were among those accused of killing him.

Malcolm's 38 years are chronicled superbly in "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," written with Alex Haley. It says everything that needs saying about why a poverty-stricken but super-bright Negro turns to the bizarre Muslim creed.

But this story is more about what Malcolm left behind, and in terms of material things, he didn't leave behind much.

Unlike many of the Muslim leaders, he never made any money from the religion he served and recruited for during almost a decade. Friends have started a fund to help his wife, Betty, keep the family together. And in terms of doctrine and organizations, Malcolm's legacy is equally bare.

AT THE HOTEL THERESA in Harlem, the OAAU, headed by Malcolm's half-sister in Boston, Ella Collins, maintains a meeting room upstairs. On the door are signs saying it can be rented for $1.25 an hour as a rehearsal hall. If it has 150 dedicated members, that would surprise Negro leaders. The Muslim Mosque Inc., which Malcolm founded to unify American Muslims—real Muslims—has collapsed.

On West 116th Street, Muhammed Mosque Number Seven, where he had so often praised Elijah, is a charred shell, with a clutter of newspapers and beer cans inside its jammed front door.

When Malcolm was murdered, someone set it afire and on the Winter day I visited it, the building was silent as Malcolm's own dead lips.

In Harlem and elsewhere, I spoke with men who had known Malcolm. They explained why he remains a symbol for the beaten-down Negro in many cities, despite, even because of, his violent, sardonical anti-white tirades.

AT NAACP HEADQUARTERS in Harlem, executive secretary Eric C. Swaby, who knew him as "Big Red" before Malcolm turned from crime to the Black Muslims, spoke feelingly:

"It's not at all that he was just bright, but he was honest. He said what Negroes have been wanting to say for years, but didn't have the guts. What he left behind was a force: his personality."

Black Muslims generally keep apart from Civil Rights demonstrations, but Swaby told how Malcolm had gone to the rally in Foley Square for four little Negro girls killed in an Alabama Sunday school bombing.

"He was beginning to change. His diagnosis was always letter perfect, but his cure wasn't right." Swaby's intent face broke up into a smile:

"I wouldn't have been surprised if in another year I could have gotten a membership (in the NAACP) out of him."

Another Harlem friend of Malcolm was Dr. Josef Ben-Johanan, a leader of the African Nationalists in America Inc.—one of the fast-spreading black nationalist groups. The Ethiopia-born Ben-Johanan said:

"To the black woman, he represented the husband that she wanted, but perhaps does not have—a man who could speak up for his race in the face of oppression by the whites."

Malcolm made a pilgrimage to Mecca to embrace traditional Moslem beliefs, and when he returned, said Ben-Johanan, "he was a different man. Since he has died, you cannot feel strength in the Muslims."

ALEXANDER J. ALLEN, now East Coast head of the Urban League, agreed that Malcolm's analysis—or much of it—was sound, "but his solutions for me made no sense. I think black chauvinism is just as bad as white chauvinism."

The ferocity of the criticism from his erstwhile colleagues in the Black Muslim movement is itself evidence of the power of Malcolm's image. Elijah Muhammad writes in his book, "Message to the Black Man:"

"This chief hypocrite took a group with him to build a 'mosque in opposition' to me and filled it with all types of wickedness and disbelievers like himself."

The Muslim paper, "Muhammad Speaks," which ironically was set up by Malcolm, follows this same

line with a story: "Malcolm's Doom Decreed by God, Not the Messenger (Elijah Muhammad)." Elijah, in commenting on Malcolm's death, said:

"I didn't harm Malcolm . . . his foolish teaching brought him to his own end."

BUT MALCOLM GAVE as good as he got.

"Religious fakery" was his description of Elijah's teachings after he broke with his aging master. Malcolm's way was strong words. He expressed pleasure publicly when an air crash in Paris killed many of Atlanta's most prominent citizens, for example.

In Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, New York—wherever I spoke with Negro—and white—leaders I heard, at worst, grudging respect for him. His name is remembered, his organizations are defunct.

A top law enforcement man who followed the career of Malcolm from his years in prison said frankly: "He was mean and he was smart. I'd like to have just talked to him one time man to man."

Malcolm was often wrong. His belief that King James wrote Shakespeare seems silly. His breathless praise of Ghana's dictator, Nkrumah, who has done his share of hunting down Negroes, is embarrassing.

The Malcolm I remember rings through in his autobiography:

"I'm telling it like it is! You never have to worry about me biting my tongue if something I know as truth is on my mind. Raw, naked truth exchanged between the black man and the white man is what a whole lot more of is needed in this country."



X IN STATE in an 8th ave. funeral parlor.
AP Photo



FAITHFUL FEW parade in Lenox ave. on anniversary of Malcolm X assassination. AP Photo



MALCOLM'S WIDOW, Betty Shabaz, in mourning.
Journal-American Photo



ANGRY MALCOLM preaches at the peak of his p ower: 'Listen to me, white man!'

Journal-American Photo by Seymour Kan



MUSLIM WOMEN in nun-like garb paid adoring attention to Malcolm in Harlem.
AP Photo

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(KALCOLM X)
NEW YORK--TALMADGE HAYER, 24, TOOK THE WITNESS STAND AT HIS FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IN MANHATTAN CRIMINAL COURT MONDAY AND CONFESSED HIS PART IN THE ASSASSINATION OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.
"I JUST WANT THE TRUTH TO BE KNOWN THAT I TOOK PART IN WHAT HAPPENED AT THE AUDUBON BALLROOM...BUTLER AND JOHNSON HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS CRIME," HAYER SAID WHEN HE TOOK THE STAND TO TESTIFY AT 3:40 P.M. IN THE SEVEN-WEEK OLD MURDER TRIAL. HAYER ALONG WITH THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 27, WERE ACCUSED OF THE FEB. 21, 1965 SLAYING.
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Defendant at Trial Admits Role in Malcolm X Slaying

NEW YORK (AP)—In a dramatic courtroom confession, Talmadge Hayer said yesterday he was one of the assassins of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

He declared that his co-defendants—Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson — "had nothing to do with it."

Hayer, 24, testified that he had three accomplices, but he refused to name them. He said the killers were hired. But he refused to say who hired them or why, or how much money was involved.

Hayer, who made his confession during the defense presentation, faced continued cross-examination today.

Hayer said no one involved in the murder was connected with the Black Muslims.



TALMADGE HAYER

First-Degree Charge

The prosecution contends that all three defendants were active members of the sect, of which Malcolm once was a top leader. He broke with the Muslims and founded his own black nationalist movement in 1964.

Hayer, Butler, 26, and Johnson, 30, all Negroes, are on trial in State Supreme Court on first-degree murder charges.

They are accused of shooting Malcolm as he addressed 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom Feb. 21, 1965. The prosecution charges that Johnson fired a shotgun blast into Malcolm's chest and that Hayer and Butler pumped pistol bullets into him as he lay prone on the stage.

Swore Innocence Earlier

Asst. Dist. Atty. Vincent J. Dermody indicated in cross-examination of Hayer that he considered his surprise testimony was a desperate attempt to save his co-defendants. The prosecution has produced more evidence against Hayer than against Butler or Johnson.

Hayer, who swore on the witness stand last Wednesday that he was innocent, returned to the stand after an out-of-court conference with his co-defendants.

He told Justice Charles Marks and the jury that he wanted to "tell the truth."

Hayer — who had said first that he had four accomplices and then said later there were three — testified that he fired a .45-caliber automatic at Malcolm "about four times" after he had been felled by the shotgun blast.

Hayer said the man who fired the shotgun was a "husky, dark-skinned Negro who wore a beard." Johnson is light-skinned, slender and clean-shaven.

Marked for Death

Hayer had been recalled to the witness stand by Butler's lawyer, William C. Chance.

Malcolm, who was the minister of the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, said many times after his break with the Muslims that he was marked for death by the black supremacy cult. Leaders of the Muslims denied it.

Hayer, whose home was in Paterson, N.J., was wounded in the left thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards in the turmoil that followed the assassination in the Audubon Ballroom the prosecution says.

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Insists Another 3 Helped Slay X

The 22-year-old defendant who stunned a Supre me Court jury Monday with his confession of killing Black Nationalist leader Macolm X, stuck stubbornly to his story yesterday despite a scathing cross-examination.

Talmadge Hayer insisted that he and three other men killed Malcolm as he was about to speak in the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, but maintained that his two co-defendants were not among the assassins.

Won't Name Anyone

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody, the prosecutor, suggested that Hayer had been ordered to confess the crime in order to clear his accused accomplices, Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

But Hayer wouldn't budge from Monday's confession, insisting that he and the other thlee men were hired to commit the crime, but refusing to identify his accomplices.

"How much money were you offered?" Dermody asked Hayer.

"I will not say," was the defendant's calm reply.

Moving closer to the witness stand, Dermody demanded, "Was it for 12 pieces of silver?"

Hayer's counsel, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, stood up and asked, "Is that the amount in the Bible?"

"Yes, exactly what Judas got," Dermody shouted, bringing a scattering of applause from the spectators.

Hayer answered, "No, sir," to the question, after tbe lawyers haggled over the number of silver pieces paid for the Biblical assassination.

Judas received 30 pieces of silver to betray Christ to the authorities.

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Seeks to Clear 2 Other Defendants

Man on Trial for Malcolm X Murder Tells Court He Took Part in Crime

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 (AP) Talmadge Hayer dramatically confessed in open courtroom today that he participated in the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X. He then sought to exonerate two other men on trial with him for the murder.

Hayer, 24, who last Wednesday swore under oath that he was innocent, told Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks and a jury that he now wanted to "tell the truth."

Hayer said he "did take part" in the assassination with others, but refused to name his confederates.

Hayer said he had spoken with his two codefendants, Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, during a luncheon recess today. The trial is in its seventh week.

He told the court and jury: "I told Butler and Johnson I know they did not have anything to do with this crime—that I did take part in it and that I know they weren't there. I wanted to tell the jury and the court the truth."

Hayer was called as a witness by William C. Chance, Butler's attorney, after conferences among the judge and attorneys.

Chance asked Hayer, "Were you alone in this involvement?"

"No, sir," Hayer answered.

"Do you know the names of the others who took part in the killing?" Chance asked.

Hayer said he knew the men but he would not name them. "I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this," he added. "I was there, I know what happened and I know the people who were there."

Under cross-examination later, Hayer said he was hired to kill Malcolm X. But he denied the person who hired him was connected with the Black Muslims, as the state contends.

Malcolm was shot down before a crowd of 400 in the Audubon Ballroom Feb. 21, 1965, as he prepared to address a gathering of Black Nationalists.

He had formed the Black Nationalist movement after becoming disenchanted with the Black Muslims and breaking away from them. Before his death, the separatist leader had accused the Muslims of plotting against his life.

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Defendant in Malcolm Murder: Was Home Feeding the Baby

Robert 15X Johnson denied under oath yesterday that he had ever been in the Audobon Ballroom, where Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965.

Johnson, 30, one of three men accused of the shotgun-and-pistol murder, took the witness stand in his own defense on the first anniversary of his arrest for the murder. The case is being heard by a jury of nine men and three women in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks.

He testified that he remained in his Bronx apartment, clad in pajamas, until evening on the Sunday when he is alleged to have fired a shotgun into Malcolm. He said he spent the day feeding his three children and doing housework while his pregnant wife rested.

When his wife, Etta X, testified Wednesday, she said a woman neighbor had brought the news of the assassination to her and her husband shortly after 3:30 p.m.

However, the neighbor, Muriel X Long, testified yesterday that she couldn't have arrived before 5 p.m. because she had worked in Manhattan until 4:30 p.m.

Johnson will continue under cross-examination today.

The other two defendants, Talmage Hayer, 24, and Norman 3X Butler, 27, already have testified in their own defense. Hayer later returned to the stand to admit he participated in the murder and deny that the other two were involved.

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Malcolm Trial Nearing Jury

Asst. Dist. AAty. Vincent J. Darmody sums up for the prosecution today in the first degree murder trial of three men accused of slaying Malcolm X on Feb. 21, 1965.

The Black Nationalist leader was shot to death at a rally in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom.

One of the three defendants, Talmadge Hayer, 24, had confessed in open court that he shot at Malcolm X with a 45-caliber pistol, but Butler, 27, were innocent.

However, when the defense summed up yesterday in Supreme Court, Hayer's attorney, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, spent three hours telling the jury of nine men and three women that his client was not guilty.

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DEFENSE SUMS UP IN MALCOLM CASE

Lawyers for Accused Ask Disregard of Muslim Ties

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Lawyers for Thomas 15X Johnson and Norman 3X Butler yesterday asked a Supreme Court jury not to convict the two defendants of the murder of Malcolm X merely because of their membership in the Black Muslims.

Both William C. Chance, who summed up for Butler, and Charles T. Beavers, who spoke for Johnson, said that the prosecution had tried to put the Muslims and their beliefs on trial.

Peter L. F. Sabbatino, counsel for Talmadge Hayer, who confessed his complicity in the murder from the witness stand on Feb. 28 and tried to absolve his co-defendants, asked the jury, in the course of an impassioned two and a half hour summation, to disregard the confession.

"There was no reason for this lad to do what he did except a high sense of Christian charity," Mr. Sabbatino declared.

"The theory of the people's case that the motive for killing Malcolm X was because he left the Black Muslim movement is totally absurd," said Mr. Chance during his hour and 40 minute address.

Cites Malcolm's Suspension

Striding in front of the jury box, the jacket and vest of his black suit unbuttoned, Mr. Chance declared that Malcolm had already been punished by suspension from his ministerial duties in the cult in December, 1963, assertedly for expressing pleasure at the assassination of President Kennedy.

When Malcolm broke with the Muslims the following March, the attorney went on, his deep voice rising to a shout, it was a step he took "of his own free will."

Mr. Chance asked the jury to "exclude" the testimony of Cary Thomas, a key prosecution witness, because he "suffered from an impaired mentality." As he spoke he waved a grey-jacketed records folder from the Bellevue Hospital psychiatric division, where Thomas, who followed Malcolm out of the Muslims, was treated for the delusion that he killed Christ.

Mr. Chance also sought to cast doubt on the credibility of other prosecution witnesses, noting their criminal records in some instances, or their advanced age, poor vision or assertedly defective memory.

Religious Charter

In closing, he asked the panel of nine men and three women, to remember that the Muslims were chartered as a religious organization in New York State and that its members were entitled to the same consideration as Protestants, Catholics or Jews.

Mr. Beavers accused the prosecution of attempting to prejudice the jury against the defendants by injecting the name of Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion, into the trial. Johnson denied on cross-examination on Friday that he had ever acted as a bodyguard for Clay, who took the name Mohammad Ali when he became a member of the Muslims.

Speaking for Hayer, Mr. Sabbatino developed the theory that dissident members of the organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm established after his break with the Muslims, were responsible for his murder.

"And the arch-boss of this conspiracy," said the grey-haired, 74-year-old lawyer, in a voice that rattled the windows of the court room, "was Reuben Francis."

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MALCOLM SLAYING CALLED A 'LESSON'

Prosecutor Charges Killing Was Intended as Warning

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Malcolm X was publicly assassinated as "an object lesson" to his followers, Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody declared yesterday.

The prosecutor, summing up in the eight-week trial of the three men accused of the killing, did not, however, attempt to link the murder directly to the national leadership of the Black Muslims.

"We never said we'd prove that Elijah Muhammad ordered this death," he declared. "I have been accused of putting the Black Muslims on trial. I submit this is not a fact.

However," he continued, I submit that these three defendants are members of the Black Muslims and that these three defendants caused his death."

Malcolm broke with the Muslims, whose best known spokesman he had become, in March, 1964, and set up the rival Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque, Inc.

From that time until he was riddled in a pistol-andshot-gun attack while addressing a meeting of 400 persons at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, he often stated as a certainty that the Muslims would murder him.

Brazenness of Killing Noted

Mr. Dermody contrasted the "brazenness" of the killing with the stealth with which crime is usually carried out — "secretly, quietly, in the dead of night."

"Why was it done in this way?" he asked the Supreme Court jury. "There must have been some reason."

Then, facing the panel of nine men and three women, and underlining his statement with downward thrusts of his right hand, the prosecutor declared:

"Is it abusing your common sense to say that it was an object lesson to Malcolm's followers, telling them that this is what can happen and will happen?"

Mr. Dermody, a member of the District Attorney's office for 25 years and a specialist in murder trials, described Hayer's admission on the witness stand last Monday that he had indeed taken part in the killing but that his co-defendants were innocent as a "futile, desperate gesture."

"He knew he was going down, buried under a mountain of evidence, and he tried at the last moment to do the noble thing," the prosecutor stated, the final phrase ringing with sardonic emphasis.

"Somewhere along the line," he went on, "it was decided, by whom I cannot say, that he was a dead duck and that he should take the fall."

Mr. Dermody, who spoke for 4 hours and 20 minutes, reviewed the testimony of the 26 witnesses presented by the state and 19 who appeared for the defendants.

Hayer, he noted, had been captured outside the ballroom with a bullet, assertedly fired by one of Malcolm's body guards, in his left thigh. There could be no dispute that he had attended the meeting.

But as to his contention that he had never been a member of the Muslims or, for that matter, ever been in a Muslim mosque, Mr. Dermody asked the jury to study carefully photographs taken, according to testimony, at Mosque No. 25 in Newark, showing Hayer taking part in a karate demonstration.

As to the alibis of Butler and Johnson, who were arrested on Feb. 25 and March 3, that they spent the afternoon of the murder with their families in their Bronx apartments, Mr. Dermody said: "Somebody is lying."

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Malcolm Trial 'Don't Believe Confession'

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

On Monday, Feb. 28, Talmadge Hayer, 24, took the witness stand in Supreme Court to tell a jury of nine men and three women that he fired bullets from a .45 caliber pistol into Malcolm X last year in the Audubon Ballroom.

Yesterday, seven days later, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, Hayer's attorney, spent three hours telling the same jury that his client was not guilty.

"Stay in this jury room until hell freezes over, rather than convict this boy, no matter what he says," Mr. Sabbatino commanded the jury in the course of his summation.

Mr. Sabbatino maintained that Malcolm was the victim of a vast conspiracy, which included many of those present for the rally at which he was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965.

Among those he charged as being involved in the conspiracy were Malcolm's security guards, several prosecution witnesses and a part-time reporter for Radio Station WABC, who was covering the rally.

He indicated that the weight of "rigged evidence" had persuaded his client to confess and to attempt to absolve his two co-defendants Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, both lieutenants in the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7, of which Malcolm was minister before he was suspended in 1963.

Both Charles T. Beavers, attorney for Johnson, and William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, pointed out "inconsistencies" in the evidence and urged the jury to disregard implications that the Black Muslims were responsible for Malcolm's assassination.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody will give the state's summation today.

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The Washington Daily News
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3 Convicted in Slaying of Malcolm X

NEW YORK (AP) — After deliberating more than 20 hours, a Supreme Court jury has convicted three men of first-degree murder in the assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Only five silent spectators were seated in the heavily guarded courtroom when George Carter, the Negro foreman, read the verdict at 12:20 a.m. today.

The case had gone to the jury of three white women and nine men, including three Negroes, on Wednesday afternoon after an eight-week trial.

Highlighting those proceedings was the dramatic court room confession of Talmadge Hayer, 24, one of the convicted men. Reversing earlier testimony in which he had sworn he was innocent, Hayer admitted taking part in the killing.

But Hayer, of Paterson, N.J., indicted under the name Thomas Hagan, sought to exonerate the other two defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx.

He said he had been hired with four other men to kill Malcolm, but he refused to name his confederates, saying, "I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this."

Justice Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing the three men to mandatory life imprisonment.

Malcolm was felled in a hail of shotgun and pistol fire on Feb. 21, 1965, as he appeared before 400 of his followers in a Manhattan ballroom.

The onetime chief lieutenant of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, he had been suspended for saying the assassination of President Kennedy was an example of "chickens coming home to roost."

After leaving the sect, Malcolm, 39, stated publicly that he had been marked for death by the Black Muslims, but Muhammad and others of the group's leaders disclaimed any link to the slaying.

Both Butler and Johnson testified that they were lieutenants in the "Fruit of Islam," the Black Muslim elite guard. At the time of Malcolm's killing, they were both out on bail for allegedly shooting another Muslim defector.

Each testified he was home at the time of the shooting.



-AP

Norman 3X Butler Thomas 15X Johnson Talmadge Hayer

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
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3 Found Guilty in Malcolm X Murder; Face Maximum of Life Imprisonment

A-1

From News Dispatches

NEW YORK, March 11 (Friday)—All three defendants in the Malcolm X murder trial were convicted of murder in the first degree early today.

The verdict was returned at 12:30 a.m. by the panel of three white women and nine men, three of them Negroes.

Convicted were Talmadge Hayer, 24, also known as Thomas Hagan, of Paterson, N.J.; Norman 3X Butler, 27, of the Bronx; and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of the Bronx.

The jury received the case Wednesday afternoon at the end of an eight-week trial.

The verdict came some 14 hours after the jury had begun its second day of deliberations.

All three face a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Judge Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing.

The three were charged with acting in concert to execute Malcolm X, who bolted the Black Muslim sect to lead his own following of black nationalists.

Johnson and Butler are avowed Muslims but testified they were at home with their families on Feb. 21, 1965, when Malcolm X was gunned down in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom. Hayer, in a surprise move in the eighth week of the nine-week trial, took the witness stand and said he and two other unidentified men were hired to assassinate Malcolm by persons he refused to name. He denied that either Johnson or Butler was a co-conspirator. A number of witnesses testified that all three were in the ballroom when Malcolm X was slain.

All three defendants sat impassively while the verdict was read by the jury foreman, George S. Carter.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald A-1
The Washington Daily News
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(MUSLIMS)
NEW YORK--THREE REPUTED MEMBERS OF THE RACIST BLACK MUSLIM SECT WERE SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT TODAY FOR THE SLAYING OF BREAKAWAY BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.
JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS HANDED DOWN THE MANDATORY LIFE SENTENCES FOLLOWING AN EIGHT-WEEK TRIAL. NEW YORK STATE LAW WOULD NOT PERMIT THE DEATH SENTENCE IN THE CASE.
THE THREE, TALMADGE HAYER, 24, OF PATERSON, N.J., AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 25, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30, BOTH OF THE BRONX, WERE CONVICTED OF FIRST DEGREE MURDER MARCH 11.
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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Malcolm X Slayers Get Life; Court Is Barricaded

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By NORMA ABRAMS

In a heavily guarded, barricaded, 11th-floor courtroom of the Criminal Courts Building, the three assassins of Malcolm X impassively heard themselves mandatorily sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday for the slaying of the fiery Black Nationalist

Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, slipped into a rear seat of the spectators' benches as Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks passed sentence on Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, Bronx.

Widow Smiles—No Comment

She arrived too late to hear sentence pronounced on the other two—Talmadge Hayer, 24, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Ave., Bronx.

Mrs. Shabazz left hurriedly afterward, and with a smile, told a reporter, "I have no comment." Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Hayer were present when their husbands were sentenced, but showed no emotion.

The three were convicted of first degree murder March 11 after an eight-week trial. All spectators were searched before being admitted to the courtroom for the trial, a procedure which was repeated for the sentencing.

The prosecution charged that Johnson cut down Malcolm with two blasts from a double-barreled shotgun as the 39-year-old secessionist from the Black Muslim movement addressed 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, on Feb. 21, 1965.

Open Fire with Pistols

Hayer and Butler then pumped pistol slugs into Malcolm as he slumped to the floor.

During the trial, Hayer, who at first swore he was blameless, returned to the witness stand and admitted his part in the killing but sought to exonerate Johnson and Butler.

The three could be eligible for parole after serving 26 years and eight months.



Justice Charles Marks
Sends killers to prison



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Malcolm K. LITTLE

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
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3 GET LIFE TERMS IN MALCOLM CASE

Sentenced for 1965 Murder of Black Nationalist

By JACK ROTH

In a heavily guarded, locked courtroom that was opened only to permit the widow of Malcolm X to enter, the three men convicted of killing the black nationalist leader were sentenced to life in prison yesterday.

The terms were imposed on Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, all Negroes, by Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks. All were identified at their trial as Black Muslims.

Under the law a life sentence is tantamount to a sentence of 40 years to life, which means the defendants will become eligible for parole after serving 26 years and 8 months.

A jury of nine men and three women deliberated for more than 20 hours last month before finding each defendant guilty of first-degree murder.

The trial took a startling turn when Hayer, on the witness stand, changed his earlier testimony and admitted he had taken part in the killing. But he asserted that his co-defendants were innocent.

Broke With Black Muslims

Malcolm was shot to death Feb. 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway, as he addressed a rally of 400 persons. A former supporter of Elijah Muhammad, the black Muslim leader, he was slain about a year after breaking with the Muslim movement to set up his own group, known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Court attendants and police personnel, including policewomen, searched spectators who entered the courtroom before the sentencing calendar was called. The courtroom was locked when the sentencing of Hayer was begun. Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, was searched and sat in a back row of the court to hear the sentencing.

Hayer, 24 years old, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N. J., wore a dark suit and stood next to his lawyer, Peter Sabbatino. Four court attendants surrounded Hayer.

Mr. Sabbatino told Justice Marks that "the solution here will not be supported by history."

He then asked for an adjournment of the sentencing, saying his client was in pain as a result of a bullet wound he suffered while trying to escape from the ballroom after the killing. Justice Marks denied the motion.

The life sentence brought no sign of emotion to Hayer's face.

Others Receive Their Terms

The next to be sentenced was Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx. He was represented by William C. Chance Jr., who also vainly sought an adjournment.

Johnson, 30, of 330 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, was represented by Joseph Pinckney, who told the court that he had intended to ask for an adjournment, but had been asked by his client not to do so.

Mrs. Shabazz declined to comment as she left the court. When she was a witness at the trial, she said, as she passed the three defendants: "They killed my husband. They had no right to kill my husband."

The prosecution was conducted by assistant district attorneys Vincent J. Dermody and Gerald J. Ryan. Mr. Dermody recently was promoted to head the homicide bureau in Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office.

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MALCOLM X. OLIVER

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176 APR 21 1966

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
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The New York Times pg 40
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
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The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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The Murder of Malcolm X:

COVERING UP THE CRIME

By MRS. ELLA COLLINS

There has been no mention in the press of additional indictments of the other men involved in the assassination of Malcolm X.

Are we to believe that the conviction of the three killers is the conclusion of the trial? Are we expected to accept this as a final verdict?

As I wrote earlier, during my investigation reliable, responsible and competent people who witnessed the assassination, today remember, as they did immediately after the assassination, seeing five or six men firing guns either at Malcolm X or overhead, and two others causing disturbance to distract.

KILLERS STILL LOOSE

In accordance with the law, each man participating in assassination is equally guilty. Of a total of eight or more men (including the one who set off the fire bomb in the rear of the Audubon Ballroom), just three have been brought to justice.

Now I ask the Black people of this land: Do we fall asleep and let this investigation end? Is this what the power structure intended? Historically, we have done nothing to bring to justice killers of great Black men. Why do we rely on others to do our work?

I was informed, during my investigation, that many of Malcolm's top security men had warned witnesses who saw the assassination from close range to keep quiet and say nothing when they were questioned by the District Attorney.

PERJURING WITNESSES

Why would these so-called "protectors" of Malcolm X hold evidence and warn others to hold evidence that would aid the D.A. in building the state case, in apprehending more of the killers and in bringing them to justice?

Members of Malcolm's security gave testimony in court favorable to the defense—they did not appear as "hostile witnesses." Some who testified for the state had previously informed me of opposite information to what they gave on the witness stand.

Many witnesses who could have identified the persons involved were not even called to testify. A woman told me that she sat beside one of the killers and had raised her hand to knock away



Officers of OOAU:
Wilma Belfou, Bonsa Nekau

his gun. The killer's expression warned her that she herself was in danger.

When I asked if any of the three indicted men was the one she had seen, her answer was no. She had also seen the three men who had finally been tried for the killing, but none was the one that sat beside her.

This man had ran to the stage and fired point-blank at Malcolm as he was falling.

In addition, two other killers (wearing turtleneck sweaters pulled up over their mouths) who were small in stature, were shooting at Malcolm and overhead.

She had seen a total of six men taking an active part in the murder.

A man was shot in the stomach during the assassination and refused medical aid. Who was he? Who finally treated his wounds? Not a word about him was mentioned during the trial. Another man was shot in the foot. He too was not mentioned at the trial.

Many of these relevant facts were given to the District Attorney by those present at the Ballroom that Sunday. They were not brought out in the open at the trial—was it because they would open doors for additional indictments?

At other rallies held at the Audubon Ballroom there were 40 to 60 policemen present—in the back of the room, in adjoining rooms, in the outer hall, in front of the building and in squad cars.

On the day of the assassination, there was only one policeman to be seen—outside the building. According to witnesses, it took 15 to 20 minutes for the police to arrive after the killing. Why?

We must remember that just a week earlier, Malcolm's home was bombed. If the police found it necessary to protect this great man on previous occasions—when nothing happened—why was it found unnecessary to protect him after his home had been bombed?

The stage was vacant that day, the cops no where to be seen. Security men stood by and did nothing—and none were called to testify at the trial. All this indicates that many people were aware of the planned assassination.

Since that cold, awful day, many of Malcolm's security men have left the country. Others have hidden out. Many of us know who they are—including the District Attorney.

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Williams to Handle 3 Muslims' Appeal In Malcolm Killing

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7(UPI) — Edward Bennett Williams, considered one of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, said today his firm has been retained to appeal the convictions of three Black Muslims accused of killing Malcolm X.

Malcolm was shot down Feb. 21, 1965, as he began to address a gathering of his breakaway Black nationalist organization at the Audubon Ballroom in Upper Manhattan.

Following an eight-week trial, Talmadge Hayer, 24 years old, of Patterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 155X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx, were sentenced to live imprisonment.

Williams said his firm had been retained by "friends and those closely related to the accused men." He said the Appellate Division of New York Supreme Court has been advised of the appeal.

Role Denied by Black Muslims

Spokesmen for the Black Muslims have consistently denied any participation in the killing. They also denied having had anything to do with the subsequent trial anf refused to discuss the three defendants' Black Muslim spokesmen in New York and Chicago, where the group's headquarters is situated, declined comment on yesterday's development.

Sources close to the group have speculated, however, that the Black Muslims are meeting the expenses of the court cases.

The three men were convicted and sentenced last April and would become eligible for parole after they had served 28 years eight months. All had pleaded innocent.

During the trial, Hayer changed earlier testimony by saying he had taken part in the killing. He testified that his two co-defendants were innocent.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
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New York Herald Tribune
New York Post
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The Baltimore Sun
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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

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Crowd Battles Police 2 Hours

A South Side meeting of some 250 persons in memory of Malcolm X, slain Black Nationalist leader, flared into a two-hour, sporadic struggle with policemen Sunday.

Violence erupted, the police said, with the appearance of two white women on the scene. The crowd also was angered by the failure of an attempt to erect a new sign renaming Washington Park as Malcolm X Shabazz Park.

Thirty - eight participants were arrested. Eleven persons, including four policemen, were treated for minor injuries. Molotov cocktails, rocks and [redacted] were hurled during the encounters.

Extra Police Sent

Some 125 extra policemen were sent to the scene as a meeting, which began in a forum of Washington Park, degenerated into angry shouting.

Rocks tore through windshields of autos passing by and windows in several police cars were shattered.

Policemen formed a chain with locked arms at one point of the struggle. Demonstrators left the park and assembled in front of the Wabash Police Station, shouting epithets.

Crowd Chased Back

Policemen with night sticks chased the crowd back into the park and fired shotguns into the air several times.

The crowd assembled at 1 p.m. at a park forum at 53d and South Park. There were speeches and drum playing. Many of the crowd wore colorful fezzes, arm bands and buttons bearing the words "Black Power."

The meeting was held by various groups, none of them officially designated nor later identified.

Plainclothes policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford, of the Wabash Av. Station, said they had been told last week that an attempt would be made during the rally to tear down the Washington Park sign at 51st and South Park, and replace it with a "Malcolm X Shabazz Park" sign.

The crowd never got the sign up. It was confiscated by policemen.

The disruption of the meeting came with the appearance of two white women who parked their car nearby. Their names were not learned.

'We Don't Want Them'

Officers Harris and Ford said the women joined the crowd. Then someone shouted:

"There's whites among us." Other voices cried, "That's white and we don't want them here." The crowd was made up of a number of youths, both male and female.

Two or three Negro girls set upon the whites, the two Negro plainclothesmen said. "They were joined by about 15 Negro women who pushed and mauled them," the officers said. "We pulled our stars and told them we were police. We ordered them to get back to the meeting."

The policemen then drew their guns. Ford escorted the two white women to their auto and directed them to leave. They did.

Then the crowd began moving from the speaking area to 51st and South Park. About

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: EMMETT DEDMON
Title: DAILY PAPER
MALCOLM X SPONSORED BY
CCCP, WASHINGTON
PARK, CHICAGO, ILL.

Character:
or 157-1465
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Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

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30 uniformed policemen then were on hand.

Police Reinforced

Minutes later, they were reinforced; the policemen then numbered about 125.

They pursued the crowd, moving in a wide arc of some 500 yards, back into the park.

Soon, the crowd assembled at the Wabash Av. Station, ostensibly, the police said, to try to free a number of participants who were being questioned inside.

The crowd totaled some 200. They chanted and shouted insults at the policemen before being dispersed.

Three Molotov cocktails were hurled into 48th St. They landed harmlessly although they were ignited.

Bottles and stones also were thrown at policemen.

Inside the sation, demonstrators refused to stand for photographs and would not discuss the incident with newsmen.

Police Lt. Robert Harness, commander of the 2d District, praised his men. "They kept their heads, and withstood a lot of baiting and pressure," he commented.

The area was cleared by 6:45 p.m., and by midnight the Wabash Av. station had its normal complement of men on duty.

A 13-year-old girl said she was told by some of the group to put up a sign renaming the park. She wore a button with a picture of Malcolm X.

The girl complained that as she attempted to post the sign "a policeman hit me in the head."

The police said they had planned to remove the sign because no permit had been issued for its erection on public property.

The Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were:

Daniel Moran, face cut from thrown brick; Louis Shelley, bruised arm; James Breckenridge, hand bite, and Marvin Phaar, sprained or fractured wrist.

The 31 adults and seven juveniles were arrested on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

Three of the juveniles were arrested during a television filming of arresting police at the station.



Confiscated and taken to Wabash Av. Police Station is sign erected by rioters to replace the Washington Park one near scene of rally. (Sun-Times Photo by Jack Lenahan)

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

30 ARRESTED DURING MALCOLM X TRIBUTE

10 Hurt at Black Nationalist Rally

A black nationalist meeting in Washington park's free speech area erupted in violence yesterday after two white women joined the crowd of 250 persons honoring Malcolm X, the slain Negro leader.

In the melee that followed, 30 persons were arrested, 10 others—including 3 policemen—were injured, and the Wabash avenue police station was beseiged for more than an hour.

At the meeting, sponsored by the Afro-American Student association, a sign bearing the name of the park was ripped down and the group tried to replace it with a sign reading "Malcolm X Shabazz Park."

Angers Negro Women

The two white women, who were rescued by Negro undercover policemen, fled the scene and remained unidentified.

Their arrival in the park angered some Negro women, who seized them and began shouting "Black power" and "Whitey's here." Policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford intervened and led the two white women away.

Then, someone tore down the park sign, and several arrests were made after police reinforcements arrived.

The crowd marched on the police station, a few blocks away at 48th street and Wabash avenue, to protect the arrests. Rocks and bottles were thrown and police said at least four molotov cocktails were exploded.

Tip Over Police Car

Comdr. Robert Harness addressed the crowd thru a bullhorn in an effort to get them to disperse. Hundreds of policemen were called in from several south side districts to handle the crowd.

The mob tipped over a police car a block south of the station and smashed its windows.

CTA officials rerouted buses around the area until the disorder.

Among those addressing the meeting in the park were Lawrence Landry, who led the massive 1963 school boycott; Oscar Brown Jr., the entertainer; and Robert Lucas, chairman of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, who led last summer's open housing march into Cicero.

Police charged all those arrested with mob action, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. They will appear today before Magistrate Maurice Lee in Jury court.

The disturbance yesterday came at approximately the same time as police in several parts of California were trying to put down racial, religious, and political violence.

Closed by Council

In Vallejo, Cal., about 40 miles northeast of San Francisco, all 70 members of the police force and a dozen highway patrolmen were called out to quell a disturbance at the Floyd Terrace housing project, which has been ordered closed by the city council.

In San Francisco, violence broke out between Jews and Arabs in Golden Gate park.

Police said about 100 Arab students picketed a gathering of about 1,500 persons marking Israel Freedom day. The Arab group marched toward the bandstand and began heckling the speaker, according to police.

In Los Angeles, 26-year-old Michael Laski, leader of a small communist splinter group which calls itself the Communist Party U. S. A., Marxist-Leninist, was arrested at an outdoor anti-Viet Nam protest rally on a charge of using sound equipment on Sunday without a police permit.

In San Diego, 34 Negroes and 4 whites were arrested after a riot at a rock 'n' roll show in the downtown Community Concourse auditorium.

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CHICAGO AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: LLOYD WENDT
Title: RALLY TO HONOR MALCOLM X SPONSORED B C.C.B.P. WASHINGTON PARK- CGO, ILL
Character:
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Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO
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UNDER INVESTIGATION

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SECTION OF WASHINGTON park, near Provident hospital, has been proclaimed Malcolm X Shabazz park, according to sign. Gathering of Black Nationalists to honor their slain leader turned into a riot.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Wabash Av. Station Guarded After 38 Arrests in Park

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By Edmund J. Rooney

Extra police squads guarded the Wabash Av. police station and patrolled nearby streets Monday as the result of a disturbance led by "Black Power" advocates.

Four juveniles and 34 adults were arrested after the melee Sunday in Washington Park. Three policemen and four other persons were slightly injured.

Police Comdr. Robert Harness blamed the disturbance on "high emotionalism" by persons attending a meeting to dedicate the park to Malcolm X, slain Black Nationalist.

"The trouble began when two unidentified white girls sought to attend the meeting and their presence was objected to by many colored women," Harness said.

TWO NEGRO undercover detectives, Otis Harris and Carl Ford, were credited with rescuing the white girls from the angry crowd.

"Harris and Ford pulled their guns and risked severe personal injury to allow the white girls to get to their car and drive out of the park," Harness said.

More than 150 uniformed police, wearing riot helmets and carrying shotguns, rushed into the park and nearby streets.

A CROWD of more than 200 persons quickly arrived at the Wabash Av. station, 48th St. and S. Wabash, to protest the arrest of 12 persons at the park. The crowd ignored a plea by Harness to disperse and tossed rocks, bricks and Molotov cocktails.

The three Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were Daniel Moran, face cuts from a thrown brick; Leon Sbelley, bruised arm, and James Breckenridge, hand bite.

The 34 adults who were arrested will appear May 31 in Boys Court on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. [redacted]
Mr. [redacted]
Mr. [redacted]
Miss Candy [redacted]

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: RED DART
Author: EDMUND J. ROONEY
Editor: ROY M. FISHER
Title: RALLY TO HONOR MAL COM X SPONSORED BY C.C WASHINGTON PARK, CHICAGO, ILL.
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Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

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The Story of Malcolm X on Screen

HOLLYWOOD (UPI) — Darryl Zanuck, head of 20th Century-Fox Studios production, said today he is activating a film based on the life of the late black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Mr. Zanuck has hired author-television personality Louis Lomax to write a dramatic screen treatment of his book "When the Word is Given," a biography of Malcolm X.

Mr. Zanuck currently is searching for a producer, director and star for the drama which is scheduled to begin filming next spring.

The Washington Post
Times Herald
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The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
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The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World

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Around the Nation

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Draftee-Undrafted

OBERLIN, OHIO—Oberlin College's President, Dr. Robert K. Carr, said yesterday that the Selective Service System has assured him that a delinquency notice given an Oberlin student who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam will be withdrawn.

John D. Love, 21, a junior, became subject to immediate draft by the notice as a result of his part in a demonstration last Oct. 26 against Navy recruiters.

Dr. Carr said the General Faculty Council had approved a proposal for temporary revocation of the school's policy of making facilities available to military recruiters.

School "Hate"

NEW YORK—Alfred E. Giardino, president of the Board of Education, has directed Superintendent of Schools Bernard E. Donovan to "establish clear control" of Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem and to end "incitements to hate" there.

He said he and other board members were shocked that an antiwhite program was held Wednesday in the school auditorium. It had been billed as a memorial to the third anniversary of the assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The City Commission on Human Rights also announced plans to hold hearings on reports of racism in public schools.

Hijacker Probed

MIAMI—The United States Government probed through Swiss diplomatic channels yesterday to learn whether Lawrence Mahlon Rhodes Jr. would get sanctuary in Cuba or be returned to face Federal piracy and kidnaping charges for hijacking a jet airline and forcing the pilot to take him to Cuba.

The State Department asked the Swiss Embassy to determine whether the Fidel Castro government had granted political asylum to Rhodes, the son of a West Virginia coal miner. Hijacking an aircraft in flight is a death penalty offense under Federal law.



Associated Press

BERNARD E. DONOVAN
... to combat hate

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The Washington Post
Times Herald A-5
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
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TWO STUDIOS PLAN MALCOLM X FILMS

James Baldwin and Louis Lomax Writing Scripts

By VINCENT CANBY

Hollywood apparently regards Malcolm X as a hot box-office property. Two motion-picture companies are rushing plans for major films based on the life of the black nationalist leader, born Malcolm Little, who was assassinated here Feb. 21, 1965.

Columbia Pictures, which owns the rights to "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," hopes to begin production in the fall with a script now being written by James Baldwin. Sidney Poitier has been mentioned as the possible star, although all parties connected with the project refuse to comment.

At the same time, 20th Century-Fox is planning to start production late this summer on "Malcolm X," based on an original screenplay being written by Louis Lomax, a newspaperman and television commentator.

The possibility that two films about Malcolm X might be ready for release at about the same time does not seem to be deterring either company.

'Hot' Summer Feared

An executive at Fox said Thursday that "the only thing that would persuade us not to go ahead would be our inability to come up with a good script." A Columbia official said simply that "the project is fraught with peril," but this, apparently, was in reference to what might happen to the project should the warnings of violent racial unrest materialize this summer.

The two companies have, however, been sparring rather discreetly over their rival films. Last week an arbitration committee of the Motion Picture Association of America's title registration bureau gave Columbia the right to use the title, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," for its film although Fox had earlier registered its intention to make a film called "Malcolm X."

The title registration bureau has no legal authority, but the film association's member companies, in an attempt to forestall the use of similar and duplicate film titles (and, indirectly, film stories), register titles with the bureau and receive priority on their use.

The Fox spokesman suggested that the reason that Columbia was given the right to use its title, even though it was registered after Fox's, was because "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" belongs to a copyrighted work. That book, written in collaboration with Alex Haley, was published by Grove Press in October, 1965.

Reached Thursday in Hollywood, Marvin Worth, who will produce "The Autobiography" for Columbia, had another explanation: "I have just one thing to say. I submitted ['The Autobiography of Malcolm X'] to Fox before submitting it to Columbia."

David Brown, a Fox vice president and the director of story operations, confirmed this, but said that at that time Fox already was working on its own original treatment of the Malcom X story "although that was not conveyed to Mr. Worth at the time."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, is cooperating with Mr. Baldwin on the preparation of the Columbia screenplay and has given the film company the exclusive right to portray her in the forthcoming film.

Although Columbia executives would not disclose how much bad been paid for "The Autobiography," they said that Mrs. Shabazz and her children would also receive part of the film's net profits, which will be paid into a trust fund.

Officials at Fox were reluctant to disclose the scope of the Malcolm X screenplay being written by Mr. Lomax, as well as the names of those persons associated with the black nationalist from whom they have received legal releases. Paul Monash will produce the Fox film, which, it is expected, will be made without well-known players.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" covers his life from his boyhood in Michigan, through his Harlem hoodlum days and his conversion to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, to his break with Muhammad and his trips to Mecca.

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The Wall Street Journal
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BLACK MUSLIMS LOSE ON MURDER APPEAL

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Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, April 16—The Court of Appeals rejected Wednesday an appeal of three Black Muslims sentenced to life in prison for the murder of Malcolm X, leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

In a unanimous opinion, the state's highest court ruled there was no reversible error in the first-degree murder conviction of Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

The appeal asked the reversal of the conviction because the press and public were barred from the courtroom during the testimony of two witnesses. This act, the three claimed, denied them their constitutional right to a public trial.

That contention was rejected, said Associate Judge Francis Bergan, who wrote the opinion, because:

"In the balancing of policy and of interests if, for a good reason related directly to the management of the trial, the judge closes the court room as to the testimony of a witness and otherwise keeps it open to the press and public, a defendant is not necessarily deprived of a 'public' trial."

The judge had closed the court when the attorney for one witness said the life of his witness had been threatened and he feared for his life if he testified. Related testimony by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was also taken in private.

Malcolm X was murdered [illegible] 21, 1965, while addressing an audience in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.

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The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington)
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times P#8
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

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Court Upholds Convictions in Malcolm X Slaying

ALBANY, N.Y. (UPI) — The Court of Appeals today upheld the conviction of three Black Muslims for the slaying of Malcolm X, who was shot while preparing to address some 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965.

In a unanimous opinion, the court held that "the proof that the defendants participated in the assassination of Malcolm X is abundant."

The defendants, Thomas Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas Johnson, all of New York and all Black Muslims, had contended that exclusion of the news media and the public from the courtroom during a small segment of the trial had deprived them of their rights to public trial.

The opinion, written by Associate Judge Francis Bergen, cited several cases where the press and public had been excluded from the trial and which did not infringe on the defendants' rights.

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The Washington Post
Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star (Washington) A-4
The Sunday Star (Washington)
Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date APR 16 1969

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The Sister of Malcolm X Leads 300 in a Pilgrimage to His Grave

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times

HARTSDALE, N.Y., May 19—The sister of Malcolm X led a pilgrimage of 300 today to the grave of the slain black militant in Ferncliff Cemetery here where she said that her brother would have "prevented" black riots had he lived.

The birthday of Malcolm X, who was shot by a band of black assassins in Harlem in 1965, was also marked by the closing of eight junior high and elementary schools inthe Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, and by memorial programs in other predominantly black schools throughout the city.

At the graveside, marked by a metal plaque, Malcolm X's sister, Mrs. Ella Collins, exhorted the crowd: "Learn to stand up like men and defend yourselves."

Eight blacks, robed in white and wearing white turbans, stood guard while two men clad in funereal black unrolled the red, black and green flag of the Republic of New Africa over the grave. A symbolic vacant chair, draped in the African colors and displaying a photo of Malcolm X, was placed beside the grave. An imam chanted prayers in Arabic.

'Don't Let Him Down'

"He's been dead five years; don't let him down," said Mrs. Collins. "The way you don't let him down is to develop yourselves.

"Improve your raggedy minds. Stop sleeping all day. Stop trucking and jiving. Stop being boys. You want my opinion? You're still boys. Learn to do something positive for a change. Don't let him die in vain."

Mark Holden, a young man representing the Black Panthers, read an editorial from the current issue of the Black Panther newspaper saying Malcolm X had "set the stage" for the Black Panthers' "era of the gun."

"History has shown us," Mr. Holden read, "that for the black liberation struggle, it's definitely time to 'get guns and be men.'"

Mrs. Collins called on all black males present to salute the flag, which had been removed from the grave. The men queued up and marched past the flag, each touching it with his right hand.

"I believe riots would not be a major factor if he [Malcolm X] were alive today," said Mrs. Collins after the ceremony had ended. "He would have prevented riots. He would have revealed the truth to them to something positive."

Mrs. Collins defended the Black Panthers aghinst charges of violence.

"Would you call Panthers violent when you know Nixon would give them a gun and send them overseas to kill people?" she asked. "I can't remember the Black Panthers doing anything that would measure up to dropping bombs on homes in Vietnam.



The New York Times (by Don Hogan Charles)

Followers of the slain black militant leader Malcolm X drape his grave with the flag of Black Liberation movement

Daily News (New York)
Sunday News (New York)
New York Post
The New York Times 19
The Sun (Baltimore)
The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Examiner (Washington)

Date 5-20-70

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